

Shaw (P.)
T H E

TABLET,

O R

Picture of Real Life;

Justly representing, as in a Looking-
Glafs, the Virtues and Vices,

Fopperies and Fooleries,

Masks and Mummeries of the AGE.

With the true Characters

Of the WISE and GOOD.

In a Select Set of ESSAYS, Serious and Jocose,
upon the most interesting Subjects.

Address'd to those who dare to think for them-
selves, and attempt, in Earnest, to improve
MANKIND.

L O N D O N :

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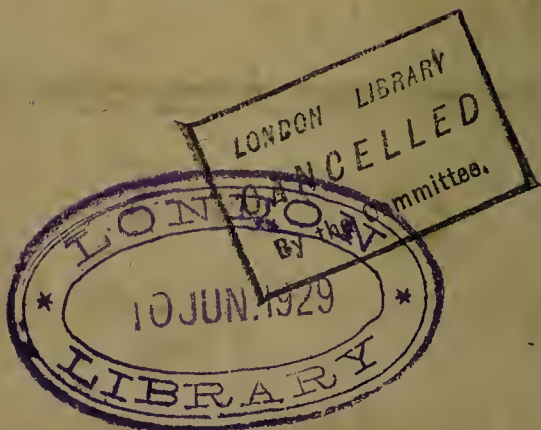
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TABLET

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To the AUTHOR.

S I R,

I Persuade myself neither the Public nor you will be displeased at my returning, in this Shape, your own Work into your Hand.

No Author, that I know of, has wrote more usefully than yourself; or shewn a greater Regard to the Welfare of Mankind.

As you are so happily qualified, I, with Pleasure, present this Taste of you to the Reader, and am,

S I R,

Your most obliged

and most humble Servant,

The Publisher.

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I.

Scheme of the Work.

THE Sciences distinguish Men from Morality, Brutes; but it is Morality that must ^{what.} make us good Men, and promote the true Happiness of ourselves and others. No Knowledge deserves the Name of a Science that has not this for its End. The common Learning is a different thing. Those Men are usually called Learned who spend their Lives in reading the Classics, studying Antiquities, Languages, Curiosities, &c. without making any considerable Progress in Philosophy and Manners. But the truly Learned are Men of meritorious Abilities, who bend their Endeavours to promote human Felicity: which cannot be effectually done without Morality; whose Fruit appears in a virtuous and useful Life. Morality teaches us how to distinguish and value Virtue as our Friend; how to discover and avoid Vice as our Enemy; and by what Means true Government, and the Sweets of Society are procured and propagated. Other Sciences belong

to few ; but Morality to all, as well as Religion ; of which it is the just Foundation. Morality directs the Laws which command what Men should do, and what they should avoid, in order to forward the Happiness of every Individual, and of the whole Community. It is therefore the Duty, Interest, and Happiness of every Man, especially of Governors, thoroughly to understand and practise Morality. Reading of History is one Means of attaining this Science ; but more Strefs should be laid upon practical Observation, and sober Reflection, in the Use of which all young Gentlemen must be early initiated ; more particularly the young Nobility of a Country, as so much depends upon their pursuing the true Path to their own Happiness, in advancing that of others, by Example, Encouragement, and the Direction of civil Affairs ; to which they are born, and ought to be bred. In this Light young Gentlemen should be accustomed to the reading of History, and taught to make a proper Use of it ; remark upon it ; compare, examine, and sift public Occurrences, as they pass in a State ; look into the Reasons and Motives of Laws ; the Nature of Trade, Commerce, Arts and Manufactures, with the Effects they produce ; so as clearly to discern where, and when, and how these tend to promote the Happiness or Misery of a People. Young Gentlemen must be taught to set their own Minds right ; manage their private Affairs ; correct their vicious Habits ; and to take Delight in the Practice of Virtue ; so as sensibly to feel, and remain immoveably convinced, that it is their Interest to
connect

connect general with particular Happiness ; and that by procuring solid Praise, Esteem, and Love, they may make themselves live in Glory, and enable their Inferiors to live in Comfort.

To forward this End ; to shew the Nature and Effects of Virtue and Vice ; expose the Fopperies of Learning, and recommend good Government and true Religion, the following Essays are publish'd, as a Prelude to a real System of Manners. Design of
the Work.

But, it may be proper to remind the present Age, that, “ The Accusation and Arraignment, both
“ of human Nature and Arts, proceeds from a
“ good Principle, and tends to the best of Pur-
“ poses ; whilst the contrary Temper is odious
“ to the Deity, and unbeneficial to Men. For
“ they who break out into extravagant Praises of
“ human Nature, and the Arts in Vogue, and
“ will needs have the Sciences to be already com-
“ plete, not only shew little Regard to the Di-
“ vine Being, whilst they extol their own Inven-
“ tions almost as high as his Perfections ; but
“ really become unserviceable in Life, by
“ vainly imagining they are already got to the
“ Extent of Things, and may there dream in
“ indolent Security. On the contrary, they who
“ arraign and charge human Nature home, and
“ are full of Complaints against the Imperfections
“ of Men and Arts, not only preserve a more
“ just and modest Sense of Mind ; but are also
“ stirred up to fresh Industry, and new Disco-
“ veries, for promoting the Happiness of Man.
“ Is not the Ignorance and Fatality of Mankind
“ to be pitied, whilst they remain Slaves to the

“ Arrogance of a few of their Equals, and are
 “ so doatingly fond of poor Scraps and Bits of
 “ Philosophy, as to fancy all Arraignment and
 “ Accusation thereof either unserviceable or ma-
 “ licious? The Procedure of bold *Empedocles*,
 “ and modest *Democritus*, is greatly preferable
 “ to the dogmatical, tyrannical, self-sufficient
 “ Conduct of *Aristotle*, and his zealous Followers.
 “ Mankind are therefore to be admonished, that
 “ the Arraignment of Nature and Art is pleasing
 “ to the Creator; and tends to human Advan-
 “ tage: for the fond Opinion, that we have al-
 “ ready acquired Knowledge enough, is the prin-
 “ cipal Reason why we have acquir’d so little;
 “ and still live in gross Ignorance, and proporti-
 “ onable Misery.” *Verulam de Sapientia Veterum.*

Reflection
 to be im-
 proved.

The great Failing of Mankind seems to lye in
 the Want of proper Observation, and suitable Re-
 flection; so as to prepare and digest the Materials
 taken in, and thence draw out and establish sure
 Rules of Practice, for steadily promoting particu-
 lar, along with general, Happiness; and avoiding,
 as much as possible, all Sorts of Misery. This is
 an Art which we may improve, and even reduce
 to a Science, by the right Application and Exer-
 cise of our natural Abilities. Men cannot ex-
 pect to be wiser till they use more Reflection,
 and direct their Lives according to the Rules
 of true Knowledge and Judgment. If bad Customs
 and absurd Precedents are to be made the Rules
 of Action, human Affairs may indeed alter, but
 cannot grow better.

Men

Men must therefore be taught to exert their Abilities; direct their Senses to proper Objects; reflect upon what they see and hear; and be shewn how to communicate the Result; so as to contribute in the Promotion of sound and serviceable Knowledge, whereon the Increase of human Felicity depends. And such a Procedure will ease the Task of Governors, when they shall come, in earnest, to consider of the most effectual Ways and Means of rendering a Nation happy.

Human Affairs are fluxile. Mens Minds are improveable. The innate Love of Virtue, and Desire of Happiness can never be totally extinguished in our Natures. Every Man has, at least an Idea of true Morality and good Government. A State was never so corrupt, but some Members of it wished for a Reformation. When Matters are at the worst they must mend. And no Man can say how soon it may be put into the Hearts of Governors, to make the Promotion of General Happiness their primary Care, and Rule of Action; or how soon unexpected Events may rouse the latent Sparks of Goodness; into a sober and steady Zeal for public Felicity. Great Alterations, and desirable Reformations frequently depend upon apparently slight and trivial Causes, that act whilst Men are asleep. But it is the Duty of Philosophers to wake, and watch, and give Notice how human Affairs stand; shew their public and private Tendency, and provide that all Things may be in Readiness, both for Governors and People to set about promoting Happiness. At least it is incumbent upon Teachers to provide

that the Manners of a People may not grow quite depraved : for, Corruption of Manners must, by necessary Consequence, introduce Misery, defeat the very End of Society, and change the Blessing of Government into the heaviest Curse ; whilst the weak, the wicked, and most odious part of the Species shall oppress and trample upon the Virtuous, Wise, and Good ; and Vice ride triumphant over Virtue. Such mischievous Effects may, in some Degree, be prevented by private Care to spread and ripen Knowledge among a People : for whilst Knowledge prevails, and Virtue keeps in Countenance, a State cannot be wretched. But the great Blessings of Society can never be enjoyed, till the Majority of the People, or at least their Governors, are wise and virtuous ; or till Morality is generally understood and publicly practised. Philosophers therefore, and private Persons, should, with their utmost Efforts, endeavour to improve Morality ; and raise it, at least, to the Dignity of a Science : so that its Influence may disperse among the People, and produce the Fruits of Felicity. Perhaps this Language is not universally intelligible ; or may appear like aiming at ideal Perfection to those who consider human Nature only in a selfish groveling State, and not as it may be improved.

Morality,
how im-
proveable.

In order to improve Morality, we might perhaps do well to imitate the Procedure of Astronomers and Natural Philosophers, who first note the Motions, Phænomena, and Properties of Bodies, in the Way of careful Observation ; so as to fix and determine the Facts and Laws of Nature,

Nature, by Sense and repeated Experience ; till these Facts and Laws are thoroughly established as Truths to build with. By reflecting, reasoning upon, and comparing these Facts and Laws together, illustrating them with farther Examples and Proofs, or by Analogy from other Sciences, Natural Philosophers extend their Doctrine, and, by degrees, form a sound and serviceable Theory ; from whence they deduce Rules, and lay out Plans, for supplying the Wants, and promoting the Knowledge of Mankind.

Thus in Morality, the Phænomena of Men are first to be duly observed ; the general Properties and Laws of the Species to be discovered ; and then the less general, down to each Individual, as they come in review before us. Whence, at length, general and particular Laws of the Species may be found ; and a kind of Theory erected, in conformity with Nature : by which Means we shall be enabled to know ourselves better, understand the Moral World as well as the Natural, and learn the amiable Art of promoting Happiness, and avoiding Misery. To know the Natural World and remain ignorant of the Moral, is a Disgrace to human Nature.

That this Method is practicable, appears by the Example of the Lord *Verulam* ; who had a particular Turn to it ; and sometimes used it with such Effect, as to rise above other Men. When this great Man condescends to work intirely with vulgar Notions, his Buildings are flight and ordinary ; yet as good as the Materials will afford :

for the Skill of the Architect is not to be questioned. But his Fountains of Equity are dry Cisterns, and a lean Sacrifice to the Common Law of *England*. His Sketch of Government skulks behind the Subject; tarnishes the Dignity of the Author; and ends in a barren Compliment to King *James*. His Rules for the Conduct of Statesmen are like the tinsel Praise bestowed upon wrong Things establish'd, or authorized only by Custom. But his Sketch for the Art of rising in Life, is conducted in his own natural, deep, and sagacious Manner; and shews how he could have performed in the Science of Morality, if he had pleased. Indeed, he frequently shines in his Moral Essays, and *Sapientia Veterum*; but we perceive his Caution, even whilst he professes to shew the *Interiora Rerum*. The best Bowl may have its Biass. A good Head may be too attentive to Court-Favours; and grow too delicate for public Service. *Bacon* judged it safer to attack and demolish the dronish Admirers of *Aristotle*, than to provoke the Hornets of the Law, the Wasps of the Court, or search the sweet Hives of the Clergy: having here barely contented himself to drop some Seeds of Reformation so secretly, that few Readers perceive them. But when this Author is unrestrain'd by Fears and Forms; when his Shackles are off, and his Mind at Liberty to follow Nature and her Laws; it is then he appears in his Glory, and outstrips the rest of Mankind in Teaching. It is then he plans out such Works, and delivers such Rules and Precepts for promoting the Sciences, and human

human Happiness, as no Man can read without Astonishment and Gratitude.

The Foundation of Morality, as a Science, must be laid in such a History of Man, as may manifest his Nature from his Actions; shew, what a Kind of Creature he is, in Fact; determine his little Sphere of Action; his Obligations to the Creator; his Powers and Defects; his improveable Gifts and Talents; his Appetites and Passions; his Wants and Weaknesses; the Advantages he receives, and may farther receive from Society; demonstrate how his social Ties oblige him to act as a rational Creature, and promote his own Happiness along with that of his Species.

If such a History were to be attempted, it might perhaps be proper to collect and range the Materials for it, under the general Heads of *Literature, Intercourse, Government, and Religion*.

Under *Literature* would come the whole Province of Education, and the Cultivation of the Sciences; including the several Methods of preparing and fitting Men, from their early Youth, for the several Posts and Professions; so as to furnish States and Kingdoms with proper Persons, in all Capacities, for carrying on the Scheme of human Felicity, in all its Branches.

Under the general Head of *Intercourse*, Men must be described in their common Occurrences, Dealings, and Transactions, exactly as they are; with all their Virtues and Vices, Follies and Absurdities about them; and the Ways be shewn, of correcting our Errors and Frailties, so as to make Virtue and Beneficence predominate over Vice

Vice and Mischief; enable the Good to check the Bad, and thus prepare the Way for true *Government*; without which the Sources of human Felicity cannot be kept open.

The hurtful Follies and Vices of Men are to be restrained by Laws. Good Manners, useful Fashions, and laudable Customs cannot be introduced and followed, unless countenanced and practised by Superiors. Hence it requires the greatest Care and Prudence to provide, that the Nature, Design, and Use of *Government* and *Laws* be understood; and the Rules thereof applied; as upon this Foundation human Happiness, in Society, must ever depend. Nothing can be well regulated in Society without good Government.

Religion recommends this great Work; and not only prescribes the Rules for promoting Happiness here; but has also a tender Regard to Mens Happiness hereafter: and therefore we ought to be extremely solicitous to have our Religion sound and pure.

The Order of the Heads, as here laid down, might indeed be inverted; and these Memoirs begin with Religion, and the Works of the Creator; so far as we know them, by the direct Evidence of Sense; or can make them our own by reflecting on the Nature of Man, and the Relations he stands in; whence every Point of Morality is directly and immediately deducible, with the utmost possible Efficacy, Energy, and Impression; so as to command and enforce Obedience, even if Gratitude and Love to the Author of our Being, were wanting. But before Men

can

can be properly address'd in this Manner, we seem to require more civilizing, and a larger Basis of Natural Philosophy, and Moral Theology, to act upon. The Understanding must be opened, and informed by Degrees, in order more effectually to comprehend the amazing System of the Universe; wherein Man makes so small a Part, and, if he could see himself, so strange a Figure, for want of that Knowledge and Virtue which he might attain to. For the present, let us take the Outlines of a System, consisting, like our Globe, of its four Quarters, *Literature, Intercourse, Government, and Religion*; in each of which it is every Man's Interest, and may be his Pleasure, to make Discoveries, for his own and the World's Advantage. The more any Man's Endeavours are directed to such an End, the wiser he will be in this Life; and, if we believe Revelation, the more blessed in the next.

II.

Of Writings designed to improve
Morality.

MORAL Writings are of two Kinds, serious, and jocular. The serious we find, under the Title of Ethics, in those Works of the Ancients, which treat of Virtue and Vice in the Abstract: whose Usefulness cannot be questioned, if Men could be brought to delight in them.

Two kinds
of Moral
Writings.
But

But as the Moral Characters, and Social Duties, are there nakedly described, these Writings do not please in proportion to their Dignity. Other Philosophers, therefore, in order to recommend Virtue, have ingeniously endeavoured to allure the Reader, awaken his Attention, and excite his Curiosity. In this View, several have cloathed Morality with Fiction, or dressed it in Fable: and we see, from several Passages of the Old Testament, that such Inventions are ancient; having been in Use, with the People of God, from the earliest Ages.

Fables. *Æsop*, the celebrated *Phrygian*, was the first who made a Collection of such Moral Fables; which are still read with Pleasure and Advantage. Many have followed his Example: and, not only the sacred Writers of the New Testament, but even our Saviour himself, made Use of Parables and Similitudes, under which to convey and enforce Morality.

Dialogues. Others have chose the Dialogue Way of Writing, or that Method of instructing which goes by the Name of *Socratic*; because *Socrates* was the first who, as *Plato* informs us, rightly employed it. Many have attempted to imitate *Socrates* in this Method of instructing; which still remains in full Use. For as Dialogue keeps up the Reader's Attention, and affords a full Opportunity for Illustration and Proof, it has been usefully employed in teaching not only Morality, but Natural Philosophy, Divinity, History, Mathematics, &c.

Hence

Hence also proceeded the Art of Romance-^{Romances} writing, at present so much in Vogue; an Invention which, according to *Verdere*, was owing to the *Normans* of *France*; these Fictions being originally written in the old *Norman* Language; and the Writings themselves intitled *Normances*; tho' the Name was afterwards altered to that of *Romances*: for the *Spaniards*, who took them from the *French*, call'd them *Romanzes*; and so do the *Italians*. This Kind of Writing has also its Advantage. The *Greeks* made Use of it: and we have still remaining two ancient *Greek* *Romances*; one by *Achilles Tatius*, and the other by *Heliodorus*. The *Metamorphosis* of *Apuleius*, is the best ancient *Latin* Romance; and *Barclay's Argenis*, the best of the modern Sort in that Language. But, most of these *Romances* appear to be written by Persons of Leisure, in the Way of Amusement. Some of them however, under the fictitious Appearance of History, contain weighty Matter, both in Civil Policy and Morality; so that the reading of them proves as profitable as pleasant.

Among the modern Moral *Romances*, the famous Archbishop of *Cambray's Telemachus* is in greatest Esteem; and held as a Master-piece.^{chus.} But I must frankly profess, that I cannot discover all those Excellencies which most People find in this Work. Its florid Style, tho' excellent in Poetry, seems very unsuitable in Prose; and the Instructions, tho' in themselves useful, are to be found in most of the Writings which treat of
Virtue,

Virtue, and Government: whereas, to make a Book a Master-piece, it should be an Original; and not wholly contain such Matters as are vulgarly known already. But the Rules and Maxims laid down in this Romance are common, trite, and not always the best; so that the Author is more to be regarded for his Style, and Conduct, than for the Substance of the Work.

Pamela.

There are Swarms of Moral Romances. One, of late Date, divided the World into such opposite Judgments, that some extolled it to the Stars, whilst others treated it with Contempt. Whence arose, particularly among the Ladies, two different Parties, *Pamelists* and *Antipamelists*. This Book describes a poor young Chambermaid, with whom a Gentleman of Fortune falls in Love, and endeavours, by Power and Subtilty, to corrupt; but her Virtue and Chastity prove so great, that she could not be prevailed upon to grant unwarrantable Favours. Hence, after some time, his impure Love turns to Esteem; insomuch, that, without regarding the Inequality of their Conditions, he marries her. Some look upon this young Virgin as an Example for Ladies to follow; nay, there have been those, who did not scruple to recommend this Romance from the Pulpit. Others, on the contrary, discover in it, the Behaviour of an hypocritical, crafty Girl, in her Courtship; who understands the Art of bringing a Man to her Lure. Both these Judgments, I think, are in the Extreme. For we cannot entirely rely upon the Conduct

Conduct of such a Girl; because we frequently find, that Men are imposed upon by pretended Virtue: and yet every Instance of Virtue must not be deemed Hypocrisy. Women of real Religion may be found, who have no such sinister Views. I comply so far with the Ladies, whose Friendship I always cultivate, as to reckon *Pamela* of this last good Sort; especially as, in her Prosperity, her Conduct is similar to what it was before; so that she pleases every body by her Civility, Modesty, and obliging Behaviour. Her History, indeed, would have been more exemplary, and her Conduct less exceptionable, if this Heroine, after suffering so many Persecutions, had continued in her low Condition; for, thus she would have avoided the Censure now pass'd upon her. At least, she might have made her Admirer wait a few Years, before she concluded the Match. Nevertheless, I approve of this Romance, so far as it contains just Sentiments, and holds out an Example of Virtue and Honour. At the same time, I cannot allow it to be a Master-piece; and by no Means think it deserves to be recommended from the Pulpit. For tho' there are some instructive Parts in this Work; yet there are others too licentious. And certainly the Images it draws of a beautiful Woman, her Shape, Air, Neck, Breasts, &c. which are all fully display'd, cannot furnish a proper Text for a Sermon.

The same Judgment may be pass'd upon many Romances other Moral Romances; wherein the Characters in general are usually rais'd so high, that they rather seem drawn

drawn for Angels, than to shew what Men really are, or might be made. Courage, Constancy, Love, &c. are here so sublimed and abstracted, that the Reader, instead of sound Sense, gets nothing but absurd, strained, Characters, and unnatural Representations. The Reading of such Books cannot be recommended; especially since there is something in them capable of giving a wrong Turn, not only to particular Persons, but even to a whole Nation. This induced *Cervantes* to write his admirable *Don Quixote*, in order to cure the perverted Taste, and monstrous Rodomontade, wherewith *Spain*, by the reading of wild Romances, was strangely infatuated.

Feigned
Voyages.

We Moderns have found a particular Pleasure in those moral Performances, published under the fictitious Titles of *Voyages*, *Travels*, *Letters*, *Spectators*, &c. Feigned Voyages may be well adapted to improve Morality; and many Pieces of this kind have already succeeded. An Abuse, however, is crept into this kind of Writing also; for there are some, who, under Pretence of describing imaginary Countries, have vented various detestable Notions, both against Religion and Morality, too shocking to be mentioned. Some of these Voyages are wrote in the same Manner with *Lucian's*; which contains nothing but Raillery: and of this kind *Bidderman's Eutopia*, with others that resemble it, are most in Esteem. The feigned Voyages wrote by Dr. *Swift*, are a Mixture of Jest and Earnest; but Jest has the upper Hand. In *Klim's Subterraneous Voyage* is also a Mixture of Jest and Earnest; but

but more of the Serious. This Piece contains so many living Characters, as might afford Materials for a little System of Morality.

Other Moderns deliver their Morality in the ^{Fictitious} Way of supposed Letters; and among these, the ^{Letter-} most celebrated are the well-wrote Letters of the ^{Writing.} *Turkish Spy*. And of late, this kind of Writing has greatly prevailed; so that we see every Year productive of Letters, under the Title of *Persian, Chinese, Indian, Jewish, and Egyptian*. The first *Persian* Letters are justly admired; as containing much good Matter, of new and original Invention. I call them the first Letters; because there have been others, since published, under the same Title.

Some Years ago, certain Persons of good Taste ^{Specta-} and Genius, joined in writing Papers upon dif- ^{tors.} ferent Parts of Morality. These Papers were first published singly, and afterwards collected into Volumes, under the Title of the *Spectator*. This Collection being not the Work of one Author, the Papers are very dissimilar. Some of them are new, and labour'd with so much Grace and Strength, that they may justly pass for Master-pieces; whilst others are but middling, and the greatest Part of little Value at present. Whence the *French* Translator thought proper to drop several of them; and it were to be wished he had omitted more.

Many Authors have unsuccessfully imitated this Work; for the new *Spectators* are no way comparable to the best Papers of the old one. Most of the foreign *Spectators* are, like the *English*, a

Modern
French
Morality.

Collection of Essays by different Hands: and some of them justly deserve the Preference to the *French Spectator*; wherein the Morality appears much more shining than solid. The modern *French* Moralists, in general, have more regard to Shew than Reality. A polite Style appears to be their principal View. Their Thoughts and Reflections are commonly bestowed upon painting the favourite Passions, and the Bent of the Ladies; which makes one principal Part, both of their jocular and serious Writings; their Morality, and their Plays: whence a Play with them, is no Play at all, unless it turn upon Love, and end in a Wedding. They affect to shew a certain external Gentility; and look upon other Writers as gross, who in the representing of Vices go to the Point, and directly apply to the Cure: whilst these polite Authors are content to blazon and display certain Foibles and Levities, with a superficial glossy Morality, that goes no deeper than the Skin.

The
French
Moralists
of the last
Century.

But this is only to be understood of the later *French* Moralists; for as to *Montagne*, *Charron*, *Moliere*, *Boileau*, *le Noble*, and others of the last Century; they treated Morality after the Model of the Ancients; and therefore their Writings will remain immortal. But every Age has its particular Taste; and it happens with the *French* Writings as with their Cloaths, which change their Fashion so much, that the Dress of one Year shall appear comely and decent, but that of another phantastic or odious. Many judicious Persons complain of this bad Taste in *France*; and their Au-
thors

thors weakly excuse themselves, by saying, they must adapt their Writings to the Taste of their Readers. But who should endeavour to correct and reform the Public Taste, if Writers do not?

Under the jocosè Morality, may be compre-Satyr. hended *Satyr* and *Plays*. In *Satyr* we have two ancient Authors, *Horace* and *Juvenal*, whom the Moderns follow as Patterns. Among the modern Satyrists, *Boileau* deservedly claims the Boileau. Preference; not only in respect of true Politeness and Style, but Choice of Subject. He has restrained the Licentiousness of the ancient Satyr, and paved the Way to a more just and temperate Kind: tho' it may fairly be said, that he sometimes transgresses his own Rules, and satyrizes Persons by Name; which is not allowable.

But of all the Kinds of Writing, none is bet-Plays. ter adapted, to recommend Morality, and shew the Nature of Virtue, and Vice, in an agreeable instructive Manner, than Plays. The Ancient Comedy is extremely strong, and strikes deep; but is withal, too coarse and biting; as plainly appears by the remaining Comedies of *Aristophanes*. *Menander* is the first, among the *Greeks*, who exhibited Morality in a less shocking Manner: but of all the Plays he wrote, not one is preserved to our Times.

Among the *Roman* Writers of Comedy, *Plau-Plautus* *tus* and *Terence* are the principal: and the Learn-^{and} ed are divided in Opinion about them. The ge-^{Terence.} nerality prefer *Terence* to *Plautus*; but I cannot concur. The Style of *Terence* indeed, is purer, and the Regularity of his Plays greater, than in

Plautus, so as to have fewer Failings : but I think *Plautus*, with all his Faults, is incomparably the better Comic Poet. I compare the Plays of *Terence* to an ordinary faultless Face ; but those of *Plautus* to an extraordinary Beauty, with her Specks and Moles. Learned Men may be but indifferent Judges of Plays ; one grows fond of the Style, another of the Manners and Decorum ; and a third of the Rules of the Drama : whereas, a Play may have Elegance, Manners, and all the Characters, be written conformable to the Rules of *Aristotle*, and yet be no true Comedy ; which, on the other hand, may have some disagreeable Blemishes, and yet be a Master-piece. No one can deny that *Plautus's Aulularia* has its Faults ; yet it stands at the Head of all the Comedies, both ancient and modern. A single *Moliere* may, in this Respect, prove a better Judge than a whole University. *Moliere* thought proper to imitate *Plautus* exactly ; and was at the Trouble of translating some of his Comedies for the *French Stage*. He could not promise himself the same Success with the Comedies of *Terence*, and therefore never meddled with them ; notwithstanding their Elegance and Regularity. Some of *Plautus's* Plays, as particularly the *Aulularia*; *Amphitruo*, *Menæchmi*; *Pseudolus*, *Moftellaria*, &c. still continue in full Vogue ; and are acted with such Success, as never to tire the Audience. And hence appears what the Soul of Comedy is ; which no Writer can possess, unless Nature has form'd it in him. Others, by Labour, Diligence,

ligence, Observation, and a distinguishing Genius, may produce regular, terse Comedies, equal to those of *Terence*; whose correct Style is his principal Beauty, and procures him Esteem; but *Terence* certainly wants Invention, the *Vis comica*, the Wit and Raillery, which are the Soul, and Life, and Spirit, of Comedy. The Plays of *Plautus* have been the Support of the *European Stage*; whilst those of *Terence*, translated, will not bear acting.

The Art of writing Moral Plays died with *Moliere*. *Plautus* and *Terence*; infomuch that *Moliere* may be reckon'd the first who revived departed Comedy, and brought it again upon the Stage, by copying after the Model of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. It may justly be said of him, that he did not only happily follow, but even excelled his Masters; so as, on that Account, to claim a Place amongst the greatest modern Philosophers. And, certainly, no Modern has better studied the human Appetites and Passions; which he describes in such a jocosé and pleasing Manner, as to be more entertaining and instructing than *Theophrastus*. Under whatever Form, or Manner of Writing, this is performed; it becomes a Work worthy of a Philosopher. That Morality is the most useful, which produces the best Effect: and I question whether the most solid Exhortations of Philosophers have produced greater Effects, in curbing the Follies, and restraining the Fopperies of Mankind, than the Comedies of *Moliere*; notwithstanding he writes in the Way of Pleasantry: and it may be

doubted, whether the most labour'd Sermon can be so capable of converting a Hypocrite, as the *Tartuffe*; or any Funeral Oration have so great an Effect, as the *Festin de Pierre*.

Paradoxes. This may appear paradoxical; but, I hold it to be the Duty of a Writer to combat Errors, and distinguish Reality from Appearance. To speak or write upon Subjects, which have already been treated of, in the same Manner, a thousand times over, is neither useful nor entertaining. To harangue upon the bad Effects of Extravagance, Covetousness, and other common Vices, is no more than declaiming in the Manner of Orators: but to discover, and manifest, how the Shadow comes to be mistaken for the Substance; and how Vices come to be confounded with Virtues, is performing the Part of a Teacher. And in this Light it is, that I value paradoxical Opinions; which being once fundamentally explained, and usefully illustrated, may be looked upon as new Discoveries.

Paradoxical Writings. But instead of explaining such Paradoxes upon proper Principles, certain Writers have appeared, who, proud of their own Wisdom, and sublime Understandings, broach and propagate pernicious Opinions, tending to degrade and debase Mankind.

Mr. Bayle. Among such Writers I reckon Mr. *Bayle*; who seems to have combated certain Opinions, merely because they were generally received. In this Class I also rank another ingenious Gentleman, who pretends that all Virtues spring from wicked and immoral Sources; which is certainly going too far, and destroying Morality at once. For tho'

tho' we should allow, that many useful Things proceed from bad Motives ; and that " Pride " and Vanity have erected more Hospitals, than " the Virtues ;" yet it does not follow, that Pride and Vanity have erected them all.

The Sophistry of the *Fable of the Bees* deserves ^{Fable of} to be particularly exposed ; because it undertakes ^{the Bees.} to defend Vices, and to shew their Necessity in Society. This Fable pretends, " it would be impossible to render a State flourishing and happy, " if all bad Things, moral and natural, were " excluded out of it." In the Article of natural bad Things, perhaps the Doctrine may be tenable. As Physicians thrive by Sickness, we cannot suspect their Sincerity, if they should wish for sickly Times. * According to the old Greek Poet, " few Doctors rejoice to find their Neighbours healthy." A wealthy Farmer is not contented with Years of Plenty, but rejoices in Times of Scarcity ; a Lawyer delights in growing Contentions ; an Undertaker in Funerals ; and a Soldier in War and Plunder. Hence, a certain *French* Surgeon, *Tierre de Hery*, by Name, worshipped the Image of *Charles* the Eighth ; because that King first brought the Venereal Disease into *France* : by the curing of which the Surgeon raised an Estate. So far, therefore, the *Fable of the Bees* may possibly be in the right, with regard to natural Evils ; but to suppose Vice and Immorality necessary in a State, is an absurd and derogatory Notion, fitter for the Kingdom of

* See hereafter Sect. IV. Essay III. *Of Evil in the World.*

Darkness, than for Human Society. Mankind are the Creatures of GOD, not Children of the Devil: whoever would make them such, may be deservedly pitied, or held in Contempt.

Paradoxes have often lead me to enquire into the Origin of generally received Opinions; by which Means I have discovered, that many established Maxims are not so much founded in Nature and Reason, as in Custom and Respect. If it be objected that I entertain singular Opinions, and patronize Paradoxes; I answer, with *Chrysippus*, that this may possibly proceed from a Love of Truth: for, to think just as others do, and always to go along with the Herd, rather indicates Indolence and obsequious Belief, than any laborious Self-Reflection.

I must indeed confess, that my Taste in Books is odd, and almost singular, so that I am thoroughly pleased with very few; and yet I have a general Love for the Sciences. The middling Authors are nauseous to me; and I had rather read Fairy-Tales than an Author who writes below his Subject. This Taste of mine has obliged me to read the best Books over and over again; in which I have found great Delight, and never grew tired. *Grotius*, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, is a great Favourite of mine; and still has all the Charms of Novelty, tho' I have read him hundreds of times. This extraordinary Man, who improved the Doctrine of Morality, has been followed by Numbers; but, in my Opinion, not one has arrived at his Perfection. Every Sentence of his is a Rule, every Rule an Oracle, and his Style
so

so beautiful and charming, that I read him as I do one of the best ancient Writers. And doubtless the Fame of this great Author, and the Doctrines he delivers, will descend to latest Posterity.

Of all the *Roman* Writers, I take *Petronius* to Petronius. be the greatest universal Master; for he appears perfect in every Point. His History is so clear and expressive, so pure and elegant, that he contests the Prize with *Livy*. His Poetry is *Virgilian*; his Satyr is sprightly, pointed, and shews the richest Vein. We every where find in him such Strokes of Wit, as give him the Preference to the Comic Poets. He is the only *Latin* Author, who speaks the Cant and common Language of the Characters he introduces, and paints their Babble in its genuine lively Colours; so that when he relates the Discourse of *Trimalchio's* Guests, one would think he had spent his Life in such contemptible Company. But as he also describes Obscenities, he is, by no Means, an Author fit for the perusal of Youth.

My strange Taste prefers *Ovid* to *Virgil*. Ovid. Perhaps I may be wrong in this; but I cannot hitherto be convinced of it: for I have never yet met with a Poet, in any degree, comparable to *Ovid*; who, whether he writes high or low, concise or full, jocosely or seriously, is always charming to me. His *Metamorphosis*, tho' writ in a pompous Style, is yet so flowing and easy, that Children and Beginners in *Latin* may read him. If we compare *Ovid* with other Poets, they all appear artificial, and he alone natural. Nay, let

let *Ovid* be translated into Prose, and he does not lose his lofty native Spirit : and this Spirit it is, that particularly distinguishes his Poems from Prosaic Writings. *Profodia*, which is the Plague of other Poets, never stands in the Way of *Ovid*. His Verse flows in such a natural Order of Words, as if he were not obliged to observe the Rules of Poetry : and this again remarkably distinguishes him from other Poets, who invert and jumble the Order of Words, in such a Manner as disfigures their Verse, and makes all appear a *Hysteron Proteron*. *Ovid* not only observes this easy natural Order of Words, in his Love-Poems, his Elegies, and Epistles, but likewise in his most magnificent Descriptions, and Transformations ; nay, he never quits it even in his lively, spirituous, and fiery Passages. The Measuring of Syllables, and the Scanning of the Verse, appear to have been no Restraint upon this genuine Poet. Nor can any other be produced like him, in lofty, clear, and moving Expression. What other Poets endeavour, with immense Labour, to bring about in Essays, so as to render them clear and intelligible, *Ovid* performs in entire Books together, with the greatest Perspicuity and Energy of Diction, and not the least Appearance of Constraint. In one Word, *Ovid* is to be reckon'd among those who are Poets by Birth and Nature : and we may well say of him, that he was nursed by the Muses. The chief Reason of his being so little relished, I take to be his Commonness ; not only because he is a Classic of the lower Forms, but because his

Meta-

Metamorphoses are generally used by Poets, Painters, Sculptors, Gravers, Players, Learned and Unlearned; who have turned and twisted him, till the Potters are grown tired of their Clay, and the Confectioners cloy'd with their Sweetmeats. Almost every Verse in *Ovid* is an Epigram, where Wit, Invention, and Elegance predominate; and yet each Verse is as easy, clear, and expressive as Prose.

I have read *Juvenal* so often, that I can nearly repeat each Satyr by Heart. His Satyrs please me more than those of *Horace*. *Horace*, indeed, excells *Juvenal* in Spirit; but *Juvenal* excells *Horace* in Strength. *Horace* tickles and delights his Reader; but *Juvenal* is earnest, nervous, sharp, and stinging. *Horace* judges from external Appearances; but *Juvenal* goes deeper, discovers secret and hidden Vice, drags it forth, and rouses Reflection in his Reader. *Juvenal* is rich and fruitful in his Doctrine and Descriptions; *Horace* only aims at certain Failings; and frequently touches upon a single Consideration over and over again. *Juvenal* explains his Point fundamentally, and never runs from it; which we cannot say of *Horace*. In his first Satyr, *Horace* jests with the Fickleness of Mankind; and in the same Breath endeavours to render Covetousness ridiculous. In his third Satyr he censures those who discover to others the slight Failings of Friends, and do not observe any in themselves; immediately after which, he comes to the Stoical Maxim, "that all Crimes are equal;" and his Conduct is the same in the rest of his Satyrs. It must however
be

be acknowledged that there are, in his Works, Passages which shew a ripe and masterly Judgment. Yet he is extremely dissimilar to himself; so that in respect both of his Matter and Style, he appears as variable as his Butt *Tigellius*. And as his Versification is extremely forced, he seems to me no Poet by Nature; but made so by Art, Labour, and Study. Moreover, he holds the Principles of *Epicurus*; denies a Providence; and praises Virtues only for their Uses in Life. *Juvenal's* Morals are much better; he speaks sensibly and venerably of GOD, and of good Actions; and has many noble Sentiments not unworthy of a Christian.

Cicero and
Pliny.

My Taste, I acknowledge, is odd; but I speak from my own Feeling, and have found some as odd as myself, in preferring *Pliny's* Epistles to *Cicero's*. I know it is Heresy, thus to prefer a young *Latin* Writer to an Ancient. But even the Writings of *Seneca* appear to me better laboured than the Philosophical Works of *Cicero*. Indeed, *Cicero* has a flowing Style; which, I suppose, is the principal Cause of his Reputation as a Writer. But some take that for a Beauty, which to others is disagreeable. Some have no Relish for Writings composed with Labour, Thought, Judgment, and Reflection; but admire what slides easily over their Minds, and leaves nothing but faint placid Images and imperfect Traces behind; with a happy Remembrance of being pleased, amused, and lulled by their Reading. I dare not call such Readers *Ciceronians*; for the Golden Age of Writers has many Defenders.

Sect. I. and EDUCATION.

ders. But Men frequently follow the Judgment of others, without considering for themselves; and are led, guided, and directed, as so many Children, what they are to like or dislike, praise or condemn. It is said, we do not discover such Beauties, Eloquence, and Ornaments in later Writers as in those of Antiquity; and particularly those of the Golden Age. And thus, as *Cicero* censures *Demetrius Phaleræus* in respect of *Greek*, so *Quintilian* censures *Seneca*, and, covertly, *Pliny* in respect of *Latin*, for spoiling the Beauty of the Language; as if when a Writer sharpens or alters his Style, or varies his Phrase, he must needs corrupt a whole Language, or alter its Force. If *Pliny* and *Seneca* had lived in the Golden Age, and *Cicero* in the Silver Age, 'tis Odds but Men would have judged differently of these Authors.

I have frequently read the *Iliad*, without find-^{Homer and}ing in it what others have found; yet cannot join ^{Plutarch.} with those modern Rebels against *Homer*, who allow him no Place in the List of good Writers. I admire *Homer* for his Spirit and noble Simplicity of Style; and I value his Works as the genuine Fountain of the *Greek* Language. But for the Treasures of Learning said to be lodged in him, and the immense Advantages of his Works to Orators, Statesmen, Generals, Arts and Sciences, my Eyes are not good enough to see them; tho' I think those happy who can. His Examples are not always to be followed. It could not be good Conduct for the General of an Army, to leave the Field in the midst of a Battle, as *Ho-*
mer

mer makes *Heſtor* do. Some propoſe the Speeches of *Neſtor* as a Pattern to Orators : I know not what Effect they may have upon others ; I am ſure they have often made me ſweat. But I diſpute no Man's Taſte ; and all Squabbles about the Matter are frivolous. In Point of Inſtruction, I hold *Plutarch* ſuperior to *Homer* ; becauſe *Plutarch* appears to me the principal Writer, wherein the Wiſdom of the Ancients is preſerved.

III.

A Sketch of Human Life.

Infancy.

THE Life of Man ſeems ſhort in reſpect of Comforts ; but long in reſpect of Miſeries. A Child comes crying into the World, as if apprehenſive of the Miſery he is born to. Indeed, we cannot figure to ourſelves a more indigent Creature than a new-born Infant ; the Day of whoſe Birth muſt infallibly prove the Day of its Death, without the Help of others : for unleſs properly aſſiſted, with Care and Skill, to ſupport his tender Frame ; he would juſt make his Appearance, like an Actor in an Opera, ſing his Dirge, and quit the Stage. With all the Care taken to preſerve the Life of a Child, Death threatens him every Hour ; becauſe his Body, on account of its Delicacy, ſeems, like a Bubble, capable of breaking by the leaſt rude Accident. He muſt, therefore, be watched Day and Night ;
be

Sect. I. *and* EDUCATION.

be covered up in Blankets and Wrappers, and delivered over to the Nurse to be fed, and lulled, and sung to Sleep. This is the State of a Child, in his tender Years; and makes the first Act of the Tragedy, as *Shakespear* describes it.

Soon after the Infant is weaned, and the Nurse Childhood dismissed, the little Creature is put into the Hands of a Tutor, or Schoolmaster; who endeavours to harden his tender Skin, with the Rod and the Ferula. And now the young Brain must be ploughed and harrowed, to prepare it for receiving the Rudiments of Grammar; which, if the Head be not capable of retaining, the Hands and Back must smart for it. This Discipline may indeed be tolerated, provided it is only exercised to the Child's Advantage: for, as Valetudinarians take disagreeable Medicines to improve their Constitutions; untoward Youngsters may submit to Correction, when they know that every Lash, and every Knock is a Token of Love: tho' many a Boy may say with the Poet; "*A force de m'aimer tu me rends miserable.*" But Masters usually dispense Correction according to the innate Acid of their own Tempers; and retaliate upon the Backs of others, those Stripes they received when School-Boys themselves. The Pupil, after having, for some Years, been thus disciplined; instructed in Things necessary and unnecessary, useful and useless, is at length set free: and now he expects to reap the Fruit of his Labour and Suffering! But, the Joy arising upon the Expiration of this Slavery, like Light-

ning.

ning, just flashes and vanishes. Immediately after School-Discipline, and Academical Drudgery, follow Anxiety of Mind, and the Cares of Life; so that the next succeeding State may possibly prove more distressful than the first.

Manhood. For now, several Years, and often the Prime of Life, must be spent in Attendance, and the seeking of Patrons or Preferment. And it happens unluckily in this Situation, that what a Man learnt at School proves of little Service to him; because the Way to the Antichambers of the Great, differs from the Road to *Parnassus*. To succeed in Life, instead of *Latin* and *Greek*, a Man should furnish himself with Humility and Patience; and instead of courting the Muses, ingratiate himself with Ladies of Quality, or their Women. All learned Ambition, and towering Thoughts, must now be abandoned; and no Condescension be spared. Single Address is here more useful than all the liberal Sciences; and how to gain the great Man's Favour and Interest, is the Study of Studies. A Suitor must imitate the Worm; creep in at Levees; bend, and buckle, and suffer, and submit.

When, at last, a Competency is servilely obtained, fresh Incumbrances arise: a House must be furnished, an Equipage provided; and before the successful Man is settled, his Taste and Relish for this Kind of Life may possibly be gone. Then ensues a miserable State of Things! Whilst a Man is capable of enjoying Pleasure, he wants the Means; and when he has got the Means, he

wants

wants the Appetite ; so that the present Plenty becomes as disagreeable as the preceding Want : for, to have nothing, and to like nothing, differ but little. And thus till a Man is past the Age for relishing Matrimony, he may not be able to provide for a Wife.

Plenty and a Disuse of it, or a general Dislike Old Age. of the World, often attend Old Age. And if Age, of itself, does not compleat the Misfortune, Infirmary and Weakness, Disgust and Dissatisfaction, usually close the Scene. For, “ Old-Age “ is the Harbour of Calamities.” This, in general, is the Course of Human Life ; at least, it has been the Tenour of mine, and of far the greater Part of my Acquaintance. Many, indeed, go different Ways to the same End ; but few of all these Ways are without Briars and Thorns, Vexations and Torments. For, the Pilgrimage of Man is a State of Suffering, tho’ the Sufferings differ in Kind. All the Roads of Life are rough, and narrow, and craggy, and broken ; and the common Gulph, in which they all terminate, is Death. And, thus, as Life begins, so it usually ends, with bewailing ; as we see by daily Experience.

If any Man judges this Description too tragical, I felicitate him upon having passed his Life with less Trouble and fewer Misfortunes. For my own part, I judge the Sketch not aggravated. The happy Days I have seen in the World, may soon be numbered. If others can reckon up a Series of happy Years, it would be Joy to me ; for as we are all Fellow-Sufferers, we ought by

No Man
to be en-
vied.

no Means, to envy one another our short-lived Enjoyments. The Practice of those Bigots should never be followed, who deny themselves no Gratifications, but allow none to their Neighbours.

The future Life.

From the Miseries to which the present Life is subject, arises a most comfortable Demonstration of a future State. If there was to be no Life after this, we might say, that “God had made Man in his Anger,” and render’d him the most miserable of all the Creatures. For, tho’ Brutes are subject to Misery and Death, yet they are free from Care and Anxiety; so that even the Understanding, allotted to Man, would then distinguish him, in Misery, from Brutes; who are not encumbered about any thing more than the present, whilst Men are attentive to past, to present, and to future Evils. But the glorious and just Expectation of the Life to come is capable of sweetening all the Bitterness in this; provided we so mould our Thoughts, as to look upon earthly Miseries as no Miseries at all, in Comparison of the future Joys we are to expect. And, certainly, the greater Sufferings we innocently undergo in this World, the more pleasing Idea we may actually have of the promised Felicities, in the Life eternal. To diminish the Miseries of this Life, and prepare the Mind for a better, is the Aim of the Author; who wishes he had Abilities adequate to so glorious a Work.

IV.

Of the Sciences.

TH E Sciences may be divided into three The Sciences divided into necessary, useful, and hurtful. Classes; the necessary, the useful, and the hurtful. Of the necessary Kind are those that teach us our Duty to GOD and Man; thus comprehending Divinity and Morality. That these two are necessary, all Men agree; and differ only as to the Manner of teaching and using them. We generally begin with instructing Children in Divinity, and stamp the Mysteries of Revelation upon their tender Minds, before they have learnt Morality. This Procedure appears Divinity and Morality. as absurd, as if a Boy, in order to learn *Latin*, should begin with *Livy* before the Accidence. Children must first be made intelligent, before they can properly be made Christians. The Foundation should be prepared, before the Building is erected; and the Paper be stiffened, before it is wrote upon.

The Method of instructing Youth, should Education to have two Views have two Views; the first to form them Men, and the second to form them Christians. For, by being early instructed in certain Articles of Faith, we are apt inflexibly to defend our Party; and can scarce bear the least Argument against it. This Plye, once taken, is not easily rectified. And hence our Minds require to be weeded from wrong Notions, and perverted Rules of

judging, before we can produce any Fruits of Morality. But, after a Man is once formed and moulded, it is usually too late to alter him; for, if wrong Opinions fix and take Root in the Mind, they grow into knotty and distorted Branches. Men should learn to doubt, before they learn to believe; as we taste our Meat before we swallow it. To do otherwise is going backwards with Instruction; and establishing Religion upon no other Foundation than the Authority of the Teacher, or the Doctrine of his Sect. To go regularly to Work, we must begin with Morality; and furnish the Mind with Manners, to fit it for the proper receiving of Divine Knowledge. This might possibly subdue the Spirit of Bitterness reigning among Christians; and render our different Religious Sects more charitable to each other.

The Jesuitical Education.

I here speak not of those, who, having a self-interested Religion to propagate, purposely begin with teaching Religion before Morality. Their View is not to teach the Truth; but only such Opinions as conduce to their own Ends. Thus, the Roman Catholics, particularly the Jesuits, who are Teachers for Self-Advantage, imprint the Infallibility of the Church upon the Minds of their young Hearers; as well knowing, that when once this Doctrine has taken Root, the Truth can afterwards find no Place in the Heart.

The Mahometan Education.

And thus the *Mahometans* carefully avoid the Teaching of Philosophy; because no Man can admit of their Religion, who is previously furnished with the Rules which Philosophers use in discover-

discovering Truth. I address myself to no such selfish Teachers, but singly to those, who, with a better Intention, allow Men to try, before they believe; and to examine before they subscribe. And, I beg leave to observe, that these well-intentioned Persons generally cross their own good Design, by their Manner of educating Youth; and obliging them to learn Catechisms, and Articles of Faith, without due Preparation.

Skilful Physicians proceed in a regular Manner; and begin with preparing the Body, that the proper Remedies may afterwards take place, and produce the better Effect. If Teachers followed this Example, Divinity would produce much nobler Fruits. But the common Way of beginning, is with *Believe!* before it is well known what should, and what should not be believed. This is proceeding like a Judge, who begins with Condemning, and ends with Examination. I submit it, whether a Regulation should not be made in Schools, for the first and second Classes to be instructed in Morality; and Religion be reserved to the third; so that the primary Business might be to prepare the Mind, and guard it against Prejudices, in order to the better planting and propagating Divinity afterwards. For we find, by Experience, that if any one studies Points of Faith before Morality, he rarely learns Morality afterwards.

Moral Philosophy has been extremely neglected, both among *Jews* and *Christians*; the Consequence whereof is, that small Things are carefully kept up and observed, whilst weighty

Morality
to be
taught be-
fore Reli-
gion.

Morality
neglected
among
Jews and
Christians.

Matters lie unregarded. All the moral Commandments have been shamefully broke, about Trifles. Men have persecuted and murdered their Neighbours, merely for disagreeing in speculative Opinions, or Ceremonies; they have been extremely zealous in external Godliness; and at the same time indulged themselves in all Sorts of Wickedness. The Freebooters, who were a Gang of Pyrates and Robbers, trained up among the Northern Christians, could never have been reckoned virtuous Heroes, if the People had understood Morality. Many Vices continue at present in Vogue, for no other Reason but because they are not properly noted, pointed out, and censured as Vices, among the People.

The common Method of Teaching to be reversed.

The common Method of instructing Youth might therefore be reversed, and a firm Foundation laid in Morality, and sound Philosophy, by way of Preparation to the Teaching of the Articles of the Christian Faith. *Clodove*, King of *France*, after his Conversion to Christianity, hearing the History of our Saviour's Passion read, was so warmed with it, that he cried out, "If I had lived in those Times, my Troops should have sabred the *Jews*, and released *Jesus*." Which he would hardly have said, if his Converters had properly instructed him, before they baptized him.

The Procedure of Missionaries.

Our present Missionaries proceed like our Schoolmasters, and usually begin with the Mysteries of Religion; which immediately shock

their

their superstitious Hearers ; so that they listen no longer. The Preaching of the *Spanish* Bishop, to the King of *Peru*, made the King take him to be mad ; so that all friendly Intercourse immediately broke off : which, probably, would not have happened, if the Bishop had begun to convert the King, in the Order here recommended. In History we find numerous Examples of others, thus disgusted with our Missionaries, or soon falling off, after being initiated ; and particularly among the newly converted *Indian* Youths. We should therefore season the Vessel with Morality, before we fill it with Religion. We must first imprint sound Sense and moral Truths upon the Minds of Men. We must shew Youth the Conformity of Revelation with Reason, before we command their Assent ; and instruct them in real Logic, genuine Criticism, and the Art of Judging, to prevent their taking Falshood for Truth. By such Means, an Instructor may acquire the proper Confidence and Esteem of his Converts ; who will then look upon him as an undesigning, upright Man, when they perceive he really means to possess them of Truth, and make them happy, without bringing any worldly Advantage to himself. And thus the Learner will soon co-operate in his own Conversion ; and come prepared, readily to receive, and strongly to retain the spiritual Doctrine delivered.

To proceed regularly in this weighty Affair, we should first shew, in general, what an intelligent Man ought to receive, and reject ; or what agrees with the Light of Nature, and what

The regular Teaching.

disagrees therewith ; then proceed to those Doctrines of Revelation, which all Christians allow to be consistent with the Principles of Natural Religion. If this Method were observed, we might reasonably hope, that Christians being thus properly made, would remain steady ; and no Points of Doctrine be received as Articles of Faith, but such as are just and perfect. Whereas, we now see, among all Sorts of People, whilst these Rules are neglected, Youth trained up in the most monstrous and inhumane Opinions, scarce ever to be rooted out of their Minds.

Illustrated. To illustrate this Matter ; let us suppose a Master undertaking to instruct a Learner in Christianity ; and, to prepare the Way, first explains the Religion of Nature ; gives his Disciple a general Idea of Virtue and Vice ; shews him what Truth, Equity, Justice, and Benevolence are ; viz. that these are Excellencies among GOD's Creatures, and, consequently, true Attributes of GOD. When this Foundation is laid ; suppose the Instructor proceeds to the Doctrines of Revelation ; and shews from the Articles of Faith, which his own Party subscribes, that GOD, out of his Sovereign Will, created most Men to be damned. Here the new Disciple is alarmed, stands upon his Guard, and will not admit a Doctrine so repugnant to the clear Preliminaries settled in his Mind.

Let a Popish-Missionary begin to execute his Commission with the teaching of Philosophy and Morality ; declare, that as a Man ought to believe nothing repugnant to his Senses, that is,
nothing

nothing contrary to what he and all others see, hear, and feel; and that those are perverse, who endeavour to do otherwise; then proceed to deliver the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; where, what to the Senses is Bread, he says is Flesh: here the Pupil must needs be shocked at an Article, which flatly contradicts the fundamental Truths that were taught him, and may justly say; “If I must not believe my own Senses and
 “Perceptions; if I must deny seeing what I see,
 “and hearing what I and others hear; this is
 “banishing Truth, or Reality, and giving up all
 “Pretensions to Certainty; so that I may well
 “doubt about the Scriptures and Miracles.”

Thus, if, by Means of preparatory Instructions, a Person is once taught to use his Reason, he will be ready to receive the Doctrines that are true, and to reject those that are false. And so much for the the necessary Sciences; Morality and Divinity.

Under the Class of necessary Sciences, might History: likewise be reckoned History; tho’ most Philosophers rank it amongst the useful Studies; and commonly place it next after Geometry: because few look upon History in its proper Light; or consider, that Morality is to be learnt from historical Examples; and that the Origin, Progress, Changes and Success of Religion, are shewn in History.

Among the useful Sciences, come Geometry and Natural Philosophy; of which I do not design to speak, because their great Advantages are generally known. I shall only mention one Er-
 The useful Sciences. Geometry and Natural Philosophy.

ror of the ancient Philosophers, in having a different Notion of the Dignity of the Mathematical Sciences ; from what we entertain at present : for, they imagined it unworthy of a Philosopher, to meddle with any thing more than the Theory of these Sciences ; and looked upon the Practice, or Mechanical Part, as vulgar Drudgery : whence, Mathematicks, with them, consisted only in Speculation ; whereas, at present, we go properly to work in these Sciences, by reducing them to Practice, and applying them to Mechanical Purposes, in a great Variety of useful Works : whence the Mathematical Philosophers, of our Time, deserve the greatest Commendation and Encouragement, as Benefactors to Mankind.

Ecclectic,
Philosophy.

The ancient Philosophers, like our modern Divines, were divided into Parties ; each Sect endeavouring to defend the Doctrines of its Founder ; instead of discovering Truth. This Kind of Party-Philosophy continued till about the Time of our Saviour ; when certain Persons, of whom *Potamon* was the first, resolved to pay no farther Allegiance to any Party ; but selected the best Things they could out of every Sect : whence this was called the *Ecclectic-Philosophy*.

Ecclectic
Divinity.

I know not whether it may be prudent to wish for an *Ecclectic-Divinity* ; whilst Christians, like the old Philosophers, do not so much endeavour to discover Truth, as to defend Opinions. But tho' I dare not make this Wish ; yet I frankly declare, that if any Man should attempt an *Ecclectic-Divinity*, he shall not have me for his Adversary.

As

As the Solidity and Use of Natural Philosophy and Mathematicks consist in Practice and Experience; we should not quarrel with those who rank skilful Farmers and Husbandmen among the Professors of Natural Philosophy; which, singly, consists in the Knowledge and Use of natural Things. For my part, I always think him a learned Man, who fundamentally understands any useful Science; whether he learnt it from Writers in *Greek*, *Latin*, or his own Mother Tongue; or whether he acquired it by Reading, Study, or Experience. And if the Doctrine of Agriculture was made a Science, and taught as such in the Universities; I believe, the Muses would not resent it. Universities are founded to cultivate and promote those Sciences which tend to support the Church, the State, and Civil Society: in which Light we might, perhaps, with as great Propriety, confer a Master's or Doctor's Degree upon a learned Farmer, as upon a learned Critic; unless any one will say, it is of greater Consequence to rectify Words and Phrases, than to improve Land; or more useful to weed an old Poet from the Errors of a Copist, than to clear a Common, and render it fruitful. The *Georgics* are no contemptible Part of *Virgil's* Works: and *Roman* Writers have left us several Specimens of their Skill in Farming.

I am in doubt, whether Rhetorick should be reckoned among the useful Sciences. The *Greeks* and *Romans* held it in great Esteem: but weighty Objections lie against it. A certain Philosopher compares it to a painted Woman; where the
Paint

Rhetorick.

Paint imposes upon the Sight, and the Woman upon the Understanding. *Socrates* call'd it the Art of Deceiving. And some well regulated States, as *Crete*, and *Lacedemon* despised it. But in *Greece*, and other tumultuary popular Governments, Rhetorick was reckoned the capital Science. I will not attempt to decide the Question.

The hurtful Sciences.

The hurtful Sciences are numerous. Most of our learned Dissertations are either wrote upon Subjects which no Man understands, or which it is of no Consequence to understand. We have daily Disputes about God's Essence, and the Nature of Spirits &c. which are, plainly, Subjects hidden from Men. Many other Discourse we have upon the dark unnecessary Things of Antiquity; as the Country of *Homer*, the real Mother of *Æneas*, the Father of *Romulus*, and as the Poet expresses it,

*Quot Acestes vixerit Annos ;
Quot Siculi Phrygibus Vini donaverint Urnas.*

The critical Sciences of this Kind, are not only unprofitable, but pernicious; on account of the Time so wretchedly misemployed. People who study in this Way, are like Children turning over the Leaves of a Book to look for Pictures.

Indeed, all the Sciences become pernicious, when they run to Excess. Experience shews, that a Man may study himself simple. Yet, excessive Study has had a great Reputation in the World. *Archimedes* is celebrated for being so buried in Contemplation, that he remained the only Person in *Syracuse*, who did not know the City was taken,

taken. *Carneades* is famed for being so studious that he forgot to eat. But, with all the Veneration due to the Ancients, this Kind of Fame is not well grounded. Persons thus praised, resemble the Gentleman lashed by *Petronius*, under the Character of *Eumolpus*; who continued repeating Verses in the Cabin, whilst the Ship was tossed in a Storm and ready to sink. An over-learned Man may be compared to a Glutton, or a Drunkard; for as Men, may eat and drink to a Debauch, so they may study to Excess. In either Case the Person becomes unfit for Business; and the Effect is the same, whether produced by too much Wine, or too much Study. Such immoderately learned Men are like the Orator in *Petronius*, who asked an unknown old Woman in the Street, if she could tell him where he lived. Of such a Person we may justly say, what *Festus* unjustly said of *St. Paul*; “thy
“ much Learning doth make thee mad.”

But what shall we say of him, who searches into the Nature of Insects, Shells, &c. without studying himself; who has the History of the World in his Head, but remains ignorant of what is daily transacted in his own Family; who knows “ what private Dialogues pass
“ betwixt *Jupiter* and *Juno*, but not a Syllable
“ of the Familiarities of his own Wife?” Men should consider Study, not as an End, but a Means to fit them for Business; as we should not live to eat, but eat to live. Excess in Study proves more detrimental than useful. “ The
“ sweetest Life is, not to be over learned”. Of
this

The curious Sciences, and too great Learning.

this Excess in Study we have such daily Examples, that it is got into a common Proverb, "He is too learn'd to preach;" or, in other Words, "He can do nothing well, because he knows nothing well." For, as Plants that are over-water'd cannot thrive; and the Lamp burns ill that has too much Oil; so the Mind will be hurt by too much Study. A Man's House may be so fill'd with Furniture, that he shall want Room to stir; and a Man's Head may be so stuffed with other People's Thoughts, that his own shall be stifled. Places abounding with Schools and Colleges, are not proportionably wise or virtuous. *Rome* was never wiser or more virtuous, than when moderately learned, and meddled with none but the useful Sciences. *Athens* was never more foolish than when it swarmed with Philosophers. Moderate Learning and useful Labour make a wise and virtuous People: for, moderate Learning strengthens the Understanding, and useful Labour suppresses Vice. Too much Eating does not make a Man healthy; and too much Reading does not make him wise. Reflection is required to digest Reading; and Use is the Soul of Study.

V.

Of the Ignorant and Skilful.

TUMID and pompous Promises commonly proceed from Imposture, or Ignorance. The Promises arising from Imposture are criminal; and those from Ignorance ridiculous. An Impostor promises what he has no Design to perform; and a Fool more than he can accomplish. The Impostor designs to impose upon others; the Fool imposes upon himself. An Impostor gives out he will effect an Impossibility; and the Fool fancies he can do what he has not Abilities for: whence the promising Cheat deserves to be punished; and the promising Fool to be laughed at. We see daily Examples of People, who by magnificent Proposals, and high Pretensions, endeavour to raise themselves a Name, or procure Rewards, for Things which they either do not design, or are unable, to effectuate. But I shall here speak only of such Promises as flow from Ignorance.

The Promises of Impostors and Fools.

The less knowing a Man is in any Thing, Ignorants the more practicable he takes that Thing to be; in general. whilst the most intelligent are usually timorous and dubious. The ignorant Man knows not his own Weakness; but fancies himself strong enough to perform any thing: whereas, the intelligent Man knows his own Strength and Weakness; and is therefore often inclined to doubt, suspend, and suspect. The Fool, who sees only the outside

side of Things, takes them all to be easy ; but the wise Man, who stoops and inspects narrowly into their Recesses, there meets with Knots and Difficulties. If a Child be bid to lift a thousand Pound Weight, he will presently attempt it ; as not knowing the Load, nor his own Weakness. “ O that I was but Lord-Mayor for a Year,” cries many a Tradesman, “ the City should soon be new moulded !” Unexperienced People run crowding after Employments, the Burthen of which they never know till it falls upon their Shoulders. If *Phaeton* had known himself, he would never have ventured to guide the Chariot of the Sun. And if Political Tradesman, and sorry Scriblers, knew their own Folly, they would not prescribe to Ministers. Yet we frequently see the most unexperienced People promoted to Places and Offices, by their own forward Ignorance and Importunity ; whilst the best qualified often keep back, and require to be importuned before they will accept of an Office. If a Difficulty be found in Divinity, an ignorant Schoolmaster will laugh at the learned Divine, who labours to explain it ; because superficial Scholars take Doubts and Scruples for Folly and Stupidity. And, hence, the doughty half-read Scholar readily decides in all Disputes.

Quacks.

When an experienced honest Physician is consulted in an incurable Disease, he frankly acknowledges the Impossibility he finds in the Cure ; whilst an ignorant, dishonest Quack boldly undertakes the Case, and promises a speedy

Recovery

Recovery. It is all one to the Quack, whatever be the Nature of the Disease, or how deeply seated; a Couple of Doses, he tells you, will soon eradicate the Cause; and, if you doubt him, he will pawn his Reputation for the Performance. But the Event too frequently shews him a Deceiver: I only say, too frequently; because confident Promises, joined to a certain Look of Assurance in the Quack, may cure some Patients; particularly such as have strong Faith, or working Expectations from his high Pretensions.

A true Philosopher readily acknowledges the many and great Mysteries which he discovers in Nature; whilst a Smatterer meets with no Difficulties, but finds all Knots equally easy. He has a ready Passage through every Labyrinth, and a Key for every Cypher. Therefore, in all the great *Desiderata*, pray let us have recourse to these expeditious Gentlemen; and not depend upon our learned Societies, where the dull Members spend their Lives in making imperfect Discoveries. In most of the grand Articles, these slow-paced Societies afford us but little Comfort; and return *Ignoramus* upon many an Enquiry: whilst a Blacksmith will easily shew you the Philosopher's Stone; every Apothecary help us to a *Panacea*; every Watchmaker to the perpetual Motion; and every Pilot to the Longitude. What whole Colleges of ingenious, laborious Gentlemen have long, in vain, been seeking, a Sailor can discover whilst he is smoaking his Pipe; or a Barber whilst he is taking off your Beard. Nay, a Barber, can settle the Affairs of *Europe*;

Philosophers and Ignorants.

make Treaties; give Orders to Ministers and Generals, &c. and all this in the twinkling of his Razor.

Hannibal, coming to *Ephesus*, was present at a Discourse there held by the great Peripatetic Philosopher, *Phormio*, upon the Subject of War, and the Duty of a General. The Audience were extremely delighted with this Discourse; and asked *Hannibal*, if he did not think it excellent. *Hannibal*, who found nothing in it but bold Stupidity, pronounced the Orator mad; alledging there could not be a greater Proof of Madness, than to harangue upon War, without having seen the Face of an Enemy, a Camp, or an Army.

The Way
to make
Fools
wise.

But these meddling People know every thing, before they know any Thing; as soon as they begin to learn, they begin to grow ignorant; and the farther they advance in Science, the greater they find their former Stupidity. For, tho' they at first see only the Surface of a Thing, and know not its internal Nature, they immediately dubb themselves Masters of Art, in their own Conceits; pertly perch above others; and look down upon those as Dunces, who in poring, for Years, have not been able to discover, what appears plainly to these *Connoisseurs* at first Sight. But when such Ignorants approach a little nearer to the Subject, and observe the Difficulties and secret Turnings in their Way; they begin to lose their dictatorial Capacity, and commence Learners: till by degrees their Omniscience dwindles, in proportion as real Knowledge takes place, It is a pretty

Thought

Thought of *Montagne's*; that "it happens with
 " ignorant and skilful Men as it does with standing
 " Corn; where the Ears shoot away bolt upright,
 " whilst they are young and empty; but bend,
 " and humbly hang their Heads, when ripe and
 " full." *Socrates* was asked what he understood;
 he answered, "he understood nothing"; which gives me a high Opinion of him; as it
 shews he was not contented with the external Appearance of Things. On the contrary, when
 any Philosopher gives himself out for an universal Scholar, I am apt to infer he knows little;
 and the Assurance, with which he boasts of his *Polymathy*, is as certain a Sign of an Ignorant,
 as the Attempt of a Child to jump over his Shadow, is a Sign of a Child.

This infallible Sign should be recommended Advice to the Great. to the Observance of all People, but particularly
 Persons in high Station; that they may not mistake Pretensions for Abilities, and Talking for
 Knowledge; nor suffer themselves to be dazzled with splendid Promises; but constantly remember,
 that a magnificent Promiser, *ipso facto*, gives them a Proof of his Ignorance. This salutary
 Rule has been too little regarded; and therefore we often see great Promisers, Fools, and Praters,
 rise to Dignities and Offices, whilst able and intelligent Men are laid aside; and grow out of Tune,
 like Musical Instruments neglected;

I beg my Reader would not misunderstand me; The Utility of Fools. I have no Design to speak against Fools; who
 are a Set of People I would by no Means provoke, on account of their Power and Number.

They are extremely necessary in a State; and remarkable Advantages arise from their ready Address, and summary Conclusions. For these, and many other Reasons, I desire to be at Peace with Fools. My Meaning is but to assign the Cause, why some Men arrive so quick at the grasping of all Science; and to shew that such Pretensions are infallible Tokens of Ignorance. These People are, indeed, happy, whilst they believe the World was made for them; and whilst their Self-Confidence raises them to Honours, and makes them considered as Persons of Weight. Moralists are apt to inveigh against many Things which Mankind cannot subsist without: for my part, I should not chuse to live in a Country without a Fool in it. A Fool has as good an Effect in a State, as the Ferment has in the Stomach. A Fool is a State-Cordial, which exhilarates the Blood and Spirits of the Subjects. He also resembles a brisk Gale; which, tho' it sometimes tears away Trees and Buildings, yet brushes and cleanses the Air, and prevents Stagnation.

VI.

Why Learning has not farther advanced Morality.

The Turn and Temper of the Learned. **I**T is difficult to cure bodily Diseases; but some mental ones seem almost incurable. A sick Person has usually Confidence in his Physician;

fician; credits what is told him; and uses what is prescribed: but an immoral Man seldom believes that his Mind is sick; flights his Doctor; and applies not the proper Remedies. Among the several Ranks of Men, none are more intractable than the Learned; who frequently preach up Virtue to others, and censure Vice in all but themselves: so little do we live according to our own Rules!

From the Infirmities found among the Learned, one might hastily infer, that Learning is not adapted to the improving of Manners, and making of good Men: but the Truth is, we rather study to be thought learned, than to be really good. At the University we learn abstract Definitions of Virtues and Vices; with the Art of haranguing upon them; and are apt to imagine that this is sufficient: whence our University Learning begins, and dwells, and ends in Theory and Speculation; so that he who has finished his Academical Studies, proves but like the Whet-Stone, blunt in himself, however he sharpens others. Such Students may be looked upon as rough Riders, who understand the breaking of a Horse; but know nothing of bridling themselves. We come out of Schools and Colleges, loaded with Learning for the Service of others; but keep none for our own Use. Every *Seneca* declaims against Riches; yet gets all the Money he can. Every *Cicero* preaches up Courage and Greatness of Soul; but whimpers at Misfortunes. Every *Horace* jokes upon Fickleness; whilst himself is as changeable as the Moon. In

Whether
Learning
conduces
to Mora-
lity.

learned Societies we find noble Precepts of Morality ; but if we look here for Examples, we had better look any where else. Great Scholars are no less remarkable for their Manners, than their Teaching ; and like Bells, give Sounds which themselves are deaf to.

The small
Fruit of
Study,
whence.

Studies usually produce so little Fruit, that the Learned are scarce distinguishable from the Unlearned, by any Signs of the Social Virtues. Nay, greater Animosities happen among Scholars, than among the Illiterate ; for which several Reasons may be assigned.

Pride of
the Learn-
ed.

1. Many Scholars are proud of their Learning ; and haughtily esteem themselves the Quintessence of Man. This Weakness was so prevalent in the barbarous Ages, that Pedants assumed the Titles of Seraphick, Subtile, and Celestial Doctors. Some took for their Title of Dignity, *Utriusque Linguae peritus*, “ Master of both the “ Languages” ; being so proud of *Latin* and *Greek*, as to despise the highest Lay-Titles, in comparison of learned Accomplishments. In our Times, indeed, the Crest of these *Greek* and *Latin* Heroes is fallen ; yet enough of the old Leaven remains, to make many waspish Gentlemen assume such a venerable Air, that it is dangerous to touch them, or even to lay an humble Truth at their Feet.

The Popish Clergy still look upon themselves as Teachers commissioned to shew all others the right Way ; without deigning to receive the least Information : whence proceeds their particular Tendernefs, or Aptness to take Alarm, more than

than the rest of Mankind. All other Men who declaim against Vice, expect Reprisals; but a *Jesuit* requires his patient Hearers to be silent and humble.

The Custom of preaching, unanswered, and having the Talk to themselves, may lead some of the Clergy into Inconveniences, or bring upon them such Weakness as may render them unable to bear Contradiction; incline them to think all Opposition uncivil; and that they alone are entitled to the Liberty of censuring, without being censured. Yet it may be permitted to remind them, that they consist of Flesh and Blood; and that their Title of spiritual Pastors, does not exclude them from being Men. Indeed I do not comprehend the greater part of the Reformed Clergy under this Character: for, I have found very just and upright Clergymen, and find them daily, who know themselves, as well as other People.

I shall always speak with Reverence of the Clergy; and can take no Pleasure in reading such Writings as endeavour to blacken, or represent them in odious Colours: which I hold not only indecent but unjust. If a Divine be a good Man, I honour him; and if his Life contradict his Doctrine, I still honour his Profession; and follow the Example of a certain good Lady, in her Compliment to the Rector of her Parish: “ Doctor, I thank you for your
“ excellent Sermon; pray God give you Grace
“ to live up to it.”

2. Learned Men are supported in their Weak- Adoration
ness by the Conduct and Behaviour of their Pu- of their
pils. Pupils.

pils. For, Learners have a vain Ambition in crying up the Abilities of their Master; whom they would not extol so much, did they but practise what they learn, and shew the Fruits of their Scholarship in Wisdom and Modesty. But when this is not the Case, Learning becomes a Blemish, instead of an Ornament. Nor would Teachers exult so much upon hearing their own Praise; if they saw how little Benefit the World receives by their learned Labour.

Their Education.

3. As Youth at Universities spend the greatest Part of their Time in the Theory of the Sciences, we cannot wonder if they are more awkward in the World than practical Men. The Ignorant are like raw Materials, or the crude Ores of Metals; but learned Men like manufactured Stuffs, or Metals that have undergone some Purification, but are ill-cast and disfigured in the Mould: so that to make Men of the Ignorant requires only a single Operation; whereas it must be a double one to transform the Learned: for the old Plaits must be taken out, before smooth Foldings can be given; and the Coin must be melted down before it can admit of a new Impression.

Their Sensibility.

4. Another Weakness of the Learned is their Sensibility, or quick Apprehension; whereby they not only see what they find in a Book; but even what others cannot find. Such double-sighted Scholars are like drunken Men; who instead of one Candle see two upon the Table: for thus the Learned are apt to see all Objects double; and find double-Meanings and Mysteries

ries in all that is wrote or spoke. And since, upon account of this particular Penetration, they see what others cannot see; it is no Wonder that many Things alarm them, which others are not affected by: whence Scholars are commonly sore, touchy, and more offended at a Joke than the Unlearned.

5. Lastly, As the Learned lead sedentary ^{Their} Lives, grow pale, weak, and hypochondriacal ^{Constitu-} by their continued Lucubrations, or frequently ^{tions.} acquire an infirm Habit of Body, relaxed Solids, or sharp and eager Juices, they become like brittle Ware, that can bear no Knock, and scarce endure to be touched. A certain Writer declares, "he would rather attack a Regiment of Horse, than a splenetic Scholar." *Con tutto Mondo Guerra, ma Pace con Inghilterra!* "War with the whole World; but Peace with the Learned;" especially the learned Devotees, and such as are easily enraged, but never appeased. It is rare that any Moralist comes off safe, who once engages with Bigots. Let the Cause brought into this Court be ever so just, it is well if you meet with Justice. A Moralist unhappily engaged with a Bigot, should drop his Weapons quick, and surrender at Discretion. It would be a great Acquisition in Morality, if the Learned shewed, by Example, that they really believed their own virtuous Precepts.

VII.

Of the false Colours of Learning.

The Art
of shining
in Con-
versation.

THE ancient Stoics pretend, that a wise Man is a rich Man : but, allowing the Position, it may be questioned who, and where, and what this wise Man is ; for, we see Wisdom and Poverty frequently unite in the same Person. Nay, the World is so plentifully provided with wise Beggars ; that one might compose the Fifth Monarchy of them. To judge from Experience, the Maxim should be inverted ; and a rich Man be termed a wise one : for, a Man of a plentiful Estate, and a generous Temper, is almost every thing ; he is wise, learned, eloquent, elegant, &c. *Et Genus & Formam Regina Pecunia donat.* “ He who nobly regales his Guests, is the “ most learned Man of the Company.” For, during the Treat, he has the Lead in the Conversation ; whilst his tame Hearers quietly permit him to begin and end all Debates. They allow him the Liberty to choose his Subject, as best suits his Skill and Capacity. His Knowledge, therefore, procures him the Respect of the obsequious Company. He sports his Sentiments ; discusses without Controul ; and decides in every Dispute. The Guests, who look upon themselves bound to Obedience, rise or fall like Barometers, just as they feel the Pressure of their Patron. They presume not to oppose the

the Master; and hold it uncivil to offer a Subject without his Call. If any one properly speak to a Point, the Master's Nod can always stop the Career; for, at his least Word, the Eyes and Ears of the Company are immediately shot at him; who now, unexpectedly, begins a new Topic; and draws all their Attention. He is the first Wheel of the Conversation, and turns the rest of the Company. He talks the most, because he has full Liberty of talking. He speaks the most learnedly, because he chooses the Subject. He discourses with Strength, and decides with Felicity; because his Company must permit him to wind up the Bottom, and have the last Word. A Stranger happening to be present, is easily deceived, and innocently judges the Master has a good Understanding, and sound Learning. For, how could a Stranger know, that the present Situation and Circumstances, are the Cause of so much Knowledge and Eloquence; which would vanish, turn to Silence, or change into Ignorance, in a different Posture of Things? Thus, many a Man is only learned at his own Table.

The President of a Council usually commands And in
Business. two or three Voices; tho' perhaps he judges no better than the rest of the Board: but his sitting at the upper End, adds Strength to his Discourse, and a threefold Weight to his Arguments. Let us talk with this President in another Place, and we may find it was not his Understanding, but his Seat, that rendered his Eloquence so powerful.

ful. This is well known to the Vulgar ; who, therefore, when they bring a Cause into Court, and are to choose their Council, or Arbitrators ; do not trouble themselves to find out the greatest Lawyers, or worthiest Persons, but those that are rich or well descended ; and, consequently, have the greater Power. The People find, by Experience, what Weight this adds to an Opinion ; and that his potent Honour is always wise. For, they have it to a Proverb, “ When “ Money and Power begin to speak, the Poor “ must hold their Tongue.” The Rich and Powerful contending with Inferiors, are like armed Men fighting against the Defenceless ; or Generals posted upon an Eminence, from whence they can annoy the Enemy, whose Cannon is in no Situation to reach theirs.

Petty
Practices
of the
half-Lear-
ned.

Some half-learned People excellently know how to take their Advantage ; and get to the weak Side of the Enemy : for, these People never enter into Debates, unless they find a right Opportunity ; nor talk upon learned Subjects, or State Affairs, but before such Persons, and in such Places, as do not subject them to Question and Answer. And by this Artifice have many, with slender Abilities, procured themselves Reputation. All half-learned Men, indeed, are not so successful ; because many of them do not understand the Art of procuring Fame, at a small Expence. But as the chief Advantages, at present, to be reaped by Learning, consist in the Name ; might it not be advisable, instead of plaguing Youth with

with Literature, at Universities, to instruct them only in certain Rules, by the Practice of which they may easily appear knowing in the Eye of the World? To what Purpose does real Learning serve, when a Man is not obliged to it by his Profession? Or where is the Harm of Ignorance, when the Character of great Learning is easily acquired, without Knowledge? The old Motto, *Malo esse quam videri*, is no longer in Fashion. Young People should be principally educated in such Things as may, in Time, turn to Advantage. They may follow these Rules if thought proper. (1.) Learn Things superficially; and endeavour to procure the Reputation of Learning, with a slender Stock of Science. Rules for acquiring a learned Character. (2.) Observe Time, Place, and Persons; so as to engross the Discourse, and be liable to no Question or Reply. (3.) Talk upon learned Subjects with none but the lower People; or such as stand in need of Patronage and Assistance. (4.) Get a Smattering of the fashionable Discourse, the News, Politics, Plays, &c. by frequenting Chocolate-Houses, Assemblies, and the Theatre. (5.) When any great Occasion presents, as if a Comet should appear, read a little upon Comets, and retail out your Reading in the polite Circles. By these easy Rules I have known many procure themselves the Reputation of polite Gentlemen, great Politicians, and excellent Philosophers.

(6.) Let Teachers instil such Principles into their Pupils, as may shorten the *Gradus ad Parnassum*: for the shortest Way to our End is the best.

best. If *Latin* and *Greek* are of any Advantage, get a few Phrases by Heart ; and vent them upon proper Occasions. (7.) If you can introduce an old Author, or a Father of the Church, quote your Chapter and Verse, and hit off the Name right : for I cannot approve of those who cite Authors and Passages that never existed ; tho' I have known this sometimes done with Success.

More Rules might be laid down, but I fear they would serve to little Purpose ; because Schoolmasters and Teachers are so rivetted to their old Habits, and absurd Ways of Teaching, as not to be brought to change them for better : tho' Experience shews, even in their own Persons, that great Reading does very little Good ; and that a Modicum, with Address, has vast Advantages. Indeed, my Schoolmaster admonished me to read the News Papers diligently ; by which excellent Rule, he seems to have entered into the present Scheme. I followed his Advice, and became such a Proficient in Politics, as to be admired by my Fellow-Citizens ; till I unfortunately altered my Course of Reading.

VIII.

Of Authors and Censors.

The Fate
of Au-
thors.

AN antient Writer says, “ When *Jupiter* is angry with a Man, he makes him a Schoolmaster :” we may say, “ When *Jupiter* hates

hates a Man, he makes him an Author." The Hope that flatters a Writer, of living in History, and receiving Honour after his Death, may, in some Measure, alleviate the Anxieties he feels in Writing. But the better he writes, the more Hatred and Envy he may happen to meet with. Authors make themselves no bitter Enemies by ordinary Writings. Nor is Censure, or Clamour, always a Sign of a bad Book. Perhaps a good Writer may have the Pleasure to see his Works commended ; whilst a bad one has the Mortification of seeing his Labours mouldered in the Shop. This, however, is no constant Rule : for, as most Readers have but a vulgar Taste ; so vulgar Books have sometimes a great Currency. Many an excellent Author has wrote to little Purpose.

Upon the first Appearance of a new Book, some suspicious Tempers imagine, that every Word has a latent Meaning. They try the Lock with false Keys, whilst the Door stands open ; and at length, they find no other Key was wanting, but one to open their own Understandings. As some Readers see Things that are not in Authors ; others see nothing at all ; and take the most laboured and useful Performances, for low Stuff and idle Common-Place. To open the Eyes of such People seems impracticable. The Table of the Mole suits them. " A young Mole intreated his Mother to buy him a Pair of Spectacles ; because he had observed that Men wore them : " his Mother replied, " The Money would only be thrown away, Child : for
" the

“ the Spectacles which Men use, are of no Service to Molewarps.”

Jealous, weak, and suspicious Readers, are a Kind of Cabbalists, who, by their own self-applauding Explanations, can make a Word speak what they please; or like those subterraneous Gentry, *Klim's Maccati*, whose Eyes were so sharp, that they could see Freckles, but not the Face; the smallest Faults, but not the Subject; and were almost blind by dint of poring. It is bad writing in a Study that swarms with Flies; where the Author must sit with his Pen in one Hand, and a Fly-Flap in the other. Snarlish Readers are like unruly Servants disturbing their Master. Their unjust, censorious Temper, impertinent Noise and Clamour, cause an Author to miscarry; or oblige him to suppress and stifle such Writings as might possibly benefit Mankind.

Just Censure.

All human Performances are liable to Censure; but not in an equal Degree, even tho' the Performances should be alike. If a Man performs an Action out of his own free Choice, or merely to shew his Understanding or Dexterity; such an Action will be more severely censured, than one performed out of Necessity, or by Compulsion. In the former Case, the Person seems to do what he likes; but in the latter he must do what he can. The first performs out of Pride; but the last out of Duty. To do a thing without being desired, is like saying, “ I can do it better than another :” whereas the importuned Person may justly say; “ You must take the Will for the Deed.”

An

An incapable Person being desired to dance or sing, may civilly excuse himself; but upon repeated Entreaty, he sings or dances as well as he can. Another, tho' unqualified, importunes People to hear his Voice, or see him cut Capers. Both of them are in a bad Situation; yet the first meets with a milder Censure, because he was compelled; the other with a severer, because he was unasked. Nay, tho' the latter should perform better, still he is censured more sharply than the other; because, by his voluntary Offer, he seemed to promise a Kind of Excellence, or Perfection. The Refuser may be looked upon as giving somewhat, when he had promised nothing; but the Importuner as performing less than he promised: so that altho' he gives more than the other, yet it seems less in itself; because the Gift falls short of the Promise.

A Counsellor who manages a Cause, and receives a Fee in proportion to the Business transacted, is not so praise-worthy, as another who takes no Money, but is contented with the bare Honour and Applause arising from his Eloquence and Conduct. The former shews no Generosity, because he is paid for what he does; whereas the latter displays a kind of Heroism, by giving his Labour *gratis*. But, notwithstanding the Excellence of Generosity above Self-Interest, the generous Lawyer will be more censured than the other, if both should manage the Cause but slightly.

Masterpieces of Skill and Workmanship are Author-
more accurately examined by Artists, than ordi- ship.

nary Work ; and Authors are justly criticis'd with more Rigour than other Labourers. If a Man publishes a Book unask'd, he forces the World to criticise him : if he performs well, no body is oblig'd to thank him ; as no body set him to Work : and if he writes ill, he is look'd upon as a conceited Scribler, who gives himself out to be what he is not ; and publishes his own Weakness, which might otherwise have lain concealed. *Si tacuisset, Philosophus mansisset.* “ If he “ had not publish'd himself for a Fool ; he might “ have pass'd for a Philosopher.” And really, when any one, without being desired, publishes a monstrous Production of his Brain ; the Author gives this Advertisement. “ Be it known “ that I am a Fool ; but, lest every body should “ not think so, this my Book shall make the “ World sensible of it ; in such Manner, that “ neither the present Generation, nor the future, “ shall have the least Doubt of it.”

Poets.

And, as among all Workmen, those Artists are the most liable to Censure, who produce Works of Ornament ; so, among the various Kinds of Writers, Poets are the most expos'd to merciless Critics. For, tho' a Poet may perform well, he is seldom allow'd due Praise. Poetry is a Kind of Self-blazoning ; and Self-Praise commonly rouses every body else against it. Whoever labours at Poetry, and publishes his Work, shews he holds his own Genius high. The Poet, indeed, frequently endeavours to obviate Objections, by acknowledging his Want of poetical Talents. But such Excuses are look'd upon
only

only as Forms of Civility. If the Author was convinced that he had no Genius for Poetry, he would be cautious of publishing; and therefore his Apologies as little soften the Critic, as a Man who gives another a Cuff, then asks his Pardon. Apologies indeed have their Weight, when we are forced upon Things against our Inclination; but become absurd, when we act voluntarily. For, let the Undertaking alone, and no Excuse will be wanted. *Cato's* Reproof is just. *Næ tu, Aule, nimium Nugator es; quum maluisti Culpam deprecari, quam Culpâ vacare.*

If Authors, and particularly Poets, would sufficiently reflect upon this, they might be more reserved in publishing. But, not knowing ourselves, nor examining our Strength, we wantonly trust our frail Vessels to the Ocean. Nay, as they who have no good Voice, generally sing the most; so those Men are aptest to write, who are least qualified for it. Some Men, in the Fury of their Liquor, have the strongest Desire to appear before the very Persons they ought least to be seen by. But Willingness and Incapacity, Unwillingness and Ability, commonly go together.

I scarce know an Example of a superficial Ora-Orators.
tor, who does not make long Speeches: tho' such frothy Speakers might save their own Time, and oblige their Audience, by Conciseness. It seems as if they would compensate for their Want of Sense, by a Torrent of Words. I have sometimes admonished a Friend of this Failing; but always without Success: which persuades me,

that if he was to preach for the Poppedom, he would not shorten a Period of his Sermon. *Horace's* Sentiment is just ; that “ middling Poets “ are insufferable.” We may say the same of Orators, and Authors in general.

*Mediocribus esse Poetis
Non Homines, non Dii, non concessere Columnæ.*

A Letter to an incensed Author.

I Have received your Manuscript Defence, wherein you express a just Resentment against an unjust Censor ; who has sharpened his Quill, and dipt it in Gall, to discredit your last Performance. You beg me to read over your Defence ; and to strike out, or add, what I may judge proper. I find nothing, in particular, to strike out ; but I except to the Whole. I do not censure the Work, but am sorry it was wrote ; and beg of you not to print it yet ; but wait a while, in order to learn the public Opinion of your Adversary's Censure. Perhaps it may sink of itself, or be rejected by the general Voice ; and if that shall be the Case, all Defence is unnecessary. We should look upon hot Critics as peevish Brooks, that rage the more for stopping ; and are never better managed, than by giving them vent, till they run themselves dry. The most honourable Victories are gained without Bloodshed. If your Defence be made public, your Adversary will imagine his Censure was just, keen, and level to
the

the Point ; and judge you are wounded, because you complain. But if you treat him with Silence and Disdain, he may think he has missed his Mark ; and thus your Silence will gall him more, than the most cutting Apology. No body, unasked and unhurt, publicly calumniates the Work of another ; unless he has itching Fingers, or loves a Dispute. By not answering, therefore, and leaving the Public to judge, you deprive your Adversary of a wished-for Engagement ; turn his Bullets into Paper-Pellets, and his Artillery into Pop-Guns. A good Book sufficiently answers for itself : and Apologies raise Suspicion. When Tradesmen praise their Ware, I doubt of its Goodness. It is only in dubious and weak Causes, that Counsellors reply and rejoin : when the Case is clear, the Pleader abides by his Opening. Let the Public, who is here a third Person, and a proper Judge betwixt you and your Adversary, determine which is in the Right. You may confute him as much as you please, still you speak but in your own Cause, where no Man is a proper Judge. Condescend not, therefore, to answer thy Opponent, but appeal to the Public ; to whose Judgment thy Book is already submitted. Hence will arise two Advantages. By not replying, and thus shewing a Confidence in the Goodness of thy Cause, and in thy Judge, thou givest others a good Opinion of it : and, secondly, you thus take rich Revenge of your Adversary ; who finds himself disap-

pointed, and his Criticism thought unworthy of an Answer. If this Silence passes for Fear with some unintelligent People ; yet it will be accounted to thee for Moderation, and Merit, by Persons of Understanding. Nay, thou wilt be looked upon like a prudent General, whom the Enemy cannot, by Provocation and Reproach, betray into the quitting of his Resolution. A certain Commander once contumeliously treated the famous *Roman* General *C. Marius*, saying, “ If thou art the great *Marius*, come out of thy Camp:” to which *Marius* answered, “ If thou art a great Commander, oblige *Marius* to change his Resolution.”

As Censure often proceeds from Jealousy, Pride or Envy ; a single *Erasmus*, a *Grotius*, or a *Scaliger*, has more Censors upon his Back, than all the Shoal of ordinary Writers. Every Seed sown by the Hand of a good Author raises Crops of armed Men, and Hosts of doughty Censors. But, the greater the Number is, the less they hurt. Remember the Traveller in *Liliput* ; who, in his Sleep, was attacked by whole Dwarf-Regiments of *Liliputians* ; all at once digging into him with Spears, Darts, and Javelins, yet never disturbed his Rest ; and, upon waking, he imagined himself rather beset with Swarms of Fleas, than attacked by Soldiers.

Strongly represent to yourself, that this outrageous Critic is actuated by Pride and Envy. Remember, that envious Men are apt to blacken the fairest Works ; which they cannot imitate. Remember

member, that those who speak with Pride and Boasting, do the least Hurt. Rage and Revenge, Bitterness and Reviling, are Signs of a weak and groveling Mind.

Constantine the Great, being informed that somebody had abused his Statue, so as to disfigure the Face of it; the Emperor, instead of Revenge, shewed the Informers his natural Face, and bid them observe it was entire and unhurt. When the *Lacedæmonian Ephori* were told, that the *Clazomenian* Ambassadors had daubed their Seat of Justice; the *Ephori* proclaimed, that the *Clazomenians*, alone, should enjoy the Privilege of being ill-bred. *Arcefilaus* was reviled by a Poet; but instead of answering, led him to a public Place, where great Numbers might be Spectators of his Rage. If thy Work be bad, no Apology can make it good. Apology for bad Writings is no better than paultry Varnish; which, tho' it covers a Failing, does not mend it.

Experience shews, that rigid Censors are sooner disarmed by Silence than Reply. Think how thy Adversary will be baulked, when he finds, unexpectedly, the War at an End; for the carrying on of which, he may have made great Preparations. This is putting him into the Situation of a Man, who has provided Timber, Lime, and Brick, for building a House; and then finds he has no Right to the Ground.

It is Courage to face an Enemy; but more noble to despise him justly. *Socrates* was beaten in the open Street; but instead of striking again,

he only wrote upon his bruised Forehead, “N, N,
“*fecit.*” A noble General was, in our time, re-
proached as a Coward ; but instead of revenging
the Affront, he appealed to the Company, if they
thought he deserved the Title : they all testified
for his Courage ; and the Insolent flung away in
more Rage and Despair than if he had been caned.

Many commence Hostilities against eminent
Men, not out of Hatred, but Ambition ; that
they may have the Glory of Dwarfs, to fight
against Giants. My Advice, therefore, is, if
thou must needs answer thy Censurer, that it be
done in these Words. “Whereas N. N. has
“lately endeavoured to blacken my Work : I
“beg the Reader will please to compare the
“Work with the Criticism.” Yours, &c.



IX.

Of Poetry and Rhime.

IT is said of *Theophrastus*, that he blamed Nature for having given so long a Life to Stags, and Ravens, and so scanty a Pittance to Man. ^{Life not short, if properly employed.} But the Censure is not just; because it may clearly be shewn, by Induction, that the Life of Man is long enough, if it were well employed. Would Men but properly use their Abilities; Affairs might be so regulated, and the Ways to Knowledge so shortened, that our Lives would be long, in proportion to our necessary Business. But, Man spends his Time in Trifles; and then complains his Life is short. One would think, that in many Cases, we contrived to make Things difficult and tedious; purposely to lengthen the Road to Science, and shorten Life. Of this there are numberless Instances: I will mention one.

Several Kinds of Poetry are of little Use, in Labour of proportion to the Labour and Study they require. ^{Authors.} An Author often finds it extreamly difficult to express his Thoughts with Perspicuity, Elegance, and Strength: but instead of assisting Authors, herein; certain Pedants, and Task-Masters, have invented and prescribed numerous arbitrary Laws and Rules, which multiply the Drudgery of poetical

cal Writers ; or render it ten times harder than is any way necessary.

Difficult
Kinds of
Poetry.

So many different Kinds of Poems have been invented, that the Enumeration of them might swell a Catalogue ; wherein would stand the Heroic, Elegiac, Sapphic, Iambic, Pindaric, &c. whilst each Kind has its particular Rules, Variations, Structure, and Feet ; so that all the Words must be measured, as it were by Scale and Compass, to fit the Places they are to stand in ; and weighed, to find whether the natural or figurative Sense has the greater Moment. This is Torture to the poor Poet ; who has otherwise Trouble enough to hunt for sublime and ingenious Thoughts, which the Nature of his Work may require.

Use of
different
Feet.

If we examine into the Use and Design of Dactyls, Spondees, Trochees, &c. or why Syllables must thus be tortured into various Feet, with so much Thought and Labour ; we shall often find it serves only to transpose, and confound the natural easy Order of Words and Phrases ; and, by bringing them into an unnatural, or poetical State, to render what is plain and simple of itself, more embarrassed and less intelligible. For, before we can understand Poetry, we must learn to marshal and muster the Words, and reduce them to their natural Order of Construction. What a Poet ties into Knots and Wreathes, the Reader must untie and unravel ; so that the Inventors of Poetry, in contradiction to common Writing, have found an Art of placing Words in a Labyrinth, to puzzle the Reader. Yet in this Art
of

of embroiling Language, Youth, at Schools, are instructed with Care; and usually receive more Praise for excelling therein, than for understanding Morality, Natural Philosophy, or Civil Policy. Who could have imagined, if he had not seen it, that sensible Men should torture their Genius in this miserable childish Manner? I call it Torture, because many have followed this Study so closely, as, by impairing their Health, to have led very uncomfortable Lives. Who could ever have expected that Promoters of the Sciences should assign Rewards to these Confounders of Language? If my Library-Keeper should transpose the Leaves of the Books in my Study, and set the last Part of a Work in the Middle, the first Part last, and expected a Reward for his Labour; I own, I should give him a Crown of Straw, and his Dismission.

This Art is ancient enough, to prove the World has long been foolish. And later Ages have not only endeavoured to keep it in Repute, but even to adorn and improve these Fooleries, with new Inventions and Additions of their own. For, whereas the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* were contented with winding, turning, and forcing of Words, so as to make a certain Cadence; the later Poets have endeavoured, by way of Appendix, to fetter Verses in Rhime; and this with such a Rage, as to sacrifice Sense to the preposterous Invention.

There are various Opinions about the Antiquity of Rhime; but that appears to be the best founded,

Ancient Poetry, how improved by the Moderns.

founded, which derives it from the *Moors*, or *Arabs*, who used it before the Time of *Mahomet*. And, from the *Spanish* Moors, the Art of Rhiming has diffused itself over *Europe*; so that it is not only introduced in all the vulgar Languages; but even into the *Latin*. And herein no body has excelled *Leonius*; whence *Latin* Rhimes are called *Leonine*. It is scarce to be described, how fond the Men of that Time, and particularly the Monks, were of this Folly: all their Conceits were dressed in Rhime, whatever became of the Sense.

Leonine
Verse.

The original *Leonine* Verses resemble the prating of a Parrot, more than rational Discourse. And as Rhime, of which there are nine Kinds, was then esteemed the most essential Thing in a Poem; these happy Verse-Makers most assiduously applied themselves to all the Kinds. Nay, Rhimes were afterwards so highly admired, that the Rich-rhiming Poets would bring two or three of them into a single Verse. Whence it might be inferred, that Absurdity was, in a Manner, necessary to Rhime; which proved to be the Case in Fact: for these rich-rhimed Poems have so little Sense with their Clack, that they might properly be used as Clappers to frighten Birds.

What a high Opinion the World has had of this miserable Invention, appears by certain Phrases, still used in different Languages; implying the Strength and Solidity of a Discourse by the Word *Rhime*; so that Rhiming and Reasoning are usually tacked together; as synonymous. “ That
“ rhimes

“rhimes well, that rhimes ill,” &c. signifies in most modern Languages, “that is Sense, that is Nonsense,” &c. Sometimes, indeed, common Language is less favourable to Rhime; as when we say, “There is neither Rhime nor Reason in a Thing,” where Rhime only walks side by side with Reason.

One might have expected that these, and the like Puerilities, should have been abolished by the modern Improvers of Science; but we still continue to teach the old *Latin Prosodia*; and thus plague the raw Understandings of Children with unnecessary Rules. Nay, Rhime still continues its Reputation in the most general Languages of *Europe*.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that there are several excellent Poems in Rhime; but the Question is, whether they would not still have been better, had the Authors paid no Regard to it? The *Italians* and the *English* are the first People of *Europe*, who attempted to shake off this Yoke of Bondage: and their poetical Performances are the best of *Europe*. But the *French*, to the Detriment of other Nations, have not yet quitted this Rattle. I say, the *French* retain this Play-Thing to the Detriment of other Countries; because other Countries do not so much inquire after the *Bon Sens*, as after the Mode of *France*. And I dare assign this as a Reason, why Rhime is still retained in the Northern Countries. For, so great is the Prevalency of *France*, that other Nations seem to glory in borrowing their Fashions, their Taste, their Wit, their Phrase, and even their

their Morals, if not their Devotion, from thence.

We have Examples of the bad Effect of Rhime, in all the singing Psalms of *Europe*; where we find numerous Words used improperly, and often absurdly, for the sake of Rhime: thus sacrificing the Sense of the divine Original to a childish Jingle.

The setting of Language to Profodia.

Some indeed have attempted, in our Time, to lay aside Rhime; and instead of it to set the *European* Language to the *Latin Profodia*. But, as the modern Languages have no compleat Flexions, like the *Latin* and *Greek*; it happens that the *Latin Profodia* cannot here be properly adapted. If it could succeed in any vulgar Tongue, it must be the *Iselandish*; wherein the Nouns and Verbs are compleatly declined and conjugated.

Difference betwixt Poetry and other Writing.

I would not be supposed to depreciate Poetry; which is distinguished from other Writing, by its Sublimity, Elegance and Brightness of Thought, and Expression: but I judge, that whatever interferes with these Properties of Poetry, ought to be banished. Certainly, nothing should be retained to cramp or confine the Genius of the Poet; who requires full Liberty; and cannot brook Restraint, without losing of his Force, his Energy, his Dignity, and Power of moving, raising, and transporting the Soul: which is an Effect not to be produced by the Rattle of Rhime.

Difference betwixt a Poet and a Versifier.

A Poet and a Versifier differ in this; that the Labours of the Poet, his Spirit, or Brightness of Thought, are not entirely lost by unravelling his Construction, bringing his Words to Order, and shewing them in a simple Style; whereas the

Labour

Labour of the Versifier vanishes together with his Cadence and his Rhime. An ugly Woman, when dressed and painted, may pass upon superficial Admirers for a Beauty : but take off her Cap, wipe away her Paint, uncurl her Locks, and the hideous Form returns.

X.

Of Poets.

POETS have honourable Titles. They are called Sons of *Apollo*, and Favourites of the *Muses*. They are great in Power, and high in Character. Their Work is creative, and their Epithet divine. They go crowned ; and enjoy all the good Things a Mortal can wish for, except the slight Circumstances of Food and Rayment. A Poet, like a Spider, is constantly busied in weaving his Web with subtile skilful Industry, all his Life long. To consider him on the Side of his Genius, his Sublimity of Thought, his Art and curious Workmanship, he deserves his Titles : but when we consider the Wear of his Constitution, his haggard Countenance, his emaciated Body, and his shrivell'd Stomach, he appears an Object of Pity. In him we see great Honours, united with extreme Poverty. *Apollo* is said to fill his Cup ; and the *Muses* to nourish and feed him : but, to judge by the Poet's Aspect, the Liquor of *Apollo* is not so exquisite, nor the

The Humours and Titles of Poets.
Table

Table of these young Ladies so delicate, as to make one desire to dine with them. But tho' the Poet's Stomach may serve to prove a *Vacuum*; yet his Head is compleatly fill'd with Measures and Metaphors, Sublimities and Conceits. And since such mental Food is pleasing to the Poet, we should let him enjoy it, with all his Titles, in Perfection. And happy it is, if this can defend him from the Ridicule which Poverty is apt to meet with. *Lobo*, in his *Abyssinian* Travels, relates that he saw the King of a Country rowing naked with other Boatmen; from whom he was only distinguishable by a Crown of Straw. This shews the Nature of Pride and Poverty existing in one Person; and is not a stranger Sight than a starved Poet crowned with Laurel.

Their
Rewards.

But all Poets are not equally poor; and some of them have been richly rewarded for their Labours. Yet, if we examine History, we shall find, that the Number of such lucky Bards is small, especially in later Times; and that Poets, with us, are generally as poor as their Father *Homer*, who lived upon Praise. *Juvenal* tells us, that *Statius* was obliged to sell his Works for Bread. Very few have ever been so fortunate as *Hiurno*, who, as *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, was elected to the Throne, for writing the Epitaph of King *Frode*. This is an Instance of a Poem richly rewarded, considering it was no great Performance; and shews the ancient *Danes* were indeed Admirers, but slender Judges, of Poetry. If all the Presents made to Poets, both ancient and modern, were amassed together, the Heap would

would scarce equal this single Reward. Most of the ancient Bards were paid with a Dinner; and most of the Moderns are esteemed as Beggars, from their external Appearance, and Manner of strolling about from Patron to Patron. Indeed there is this Difference between them; that the Poet begs in Verse, and the Beggar in Prose.

It is said that the Language of Poets is divine; but to judge from Effects, the Language of Lawyers is more efficacious. They both deal in the same Art; but not with equal Success: for, tho' the Lies of a Lawyer be no greater, or bolder than those of the Poet; yet they are more profitable, and must be paid for. The Difference is, that the Poet lyes in Jest, but the Lawyer in Earnest; whence the Poet is rewarded in Jest, and the Lawyer in Earnest. And this proves the Case with the Poet, even when his Performance is well received.

But, it frequently happens, to the Poet's Mortification, that if his divine Enthusiasm rise too high; or his Muse happen to slip her Bitt; she runs him into such Difficulties and Distresses, as occasion him to write *de Tristibus*, with his Brother *Ovid*. The *Licentia Poetica* is not always a good Plea. *Orpheus*, who so ravished all Things with the Magic of his Music and Poetry, as to move the very Trees, and make the Stones dance; at length made them dance so vigorously about his Ears, that they killed him. *Eumolpus*, once reciting his Verses in the public Market-Place, and finding the Stones fly thick about him, readily

Their divine Language.

The Licentia poetica.

dily acknowledged them the Fruits of his Poetry.
Novimus plausum Ingenii nostri.

Their
 Supports.

By this Description, no body, I hope, will suspect I mean to restrain the Genius, or curb the Spirit of Poetry: I esteem it a noble Study; and think that a true Poet deserves all the Honours which Men can bestow upon him. Indeed I account him happy, if Honour alone can satisfy him. If he can contentedly suffer Hunger and Thirst, he feels no greater Wants.

Many People sacrifice their Estates to obtain a Title, an inconsiderable Place, or Pension, and thus live contented with Poverty and Precedency. How many run into the Embraces of Death for Fame, or in hopes of living in History? “Man
 “ lives not by Bread alone.” Titles, Honours, and Fame make many People not only contented, but happy, and gay, and frolic, tho’ poor. Some great Secret must, therefore, lie concealed in Pride, Ambition, and Self-conceit, capable, in a degree, of nourishing the Body, as well as feeding the Mind.

XI.

Of Satyr and Panegyric; Praise and Blame.

PRAISE and Blame produce as different Effects in the Mind, as Sweet and Bitter do in the Body. Praise is like Sugar and Honey, apt to ferment and putrefy. Blame is like Salt, or Vinegar, and prevents Corruption. All that is soft and pleasant, inclines to spoiling; whilst all that is pungent or tart, quickens and cleanses. Flattery is a sweet Poison; and Satyr a bitter Remedy. Flattery is pleasant, but Sincerity is wholesom.

Nature of
Satyr
and Pane-
gyric.

It is related of *Jason*, the *Thessalian*, that a Person gave him a Cut with a Sword, which opened an Imposthume, and saved his Life. Satyr has often the like Effect; and therefore every Man who is hit, and willing to correct himself, may look upon a Satyrift as his angry Friend.

An Enemy is sometimes more useful than a Friend. It is said of *Hiero*, that one of his Enemies telling him he had a strong Breath; he went Home, and asked his Wife, why she never informed him of it? The Lady answered, obligingly, that she thought all Mens Breath was strong: whence *Hiero* remarked, that he was more obliged to the Rudeness of his Enemy, than to the silent Civility of his Wife.

A Flatterer seems a Friend, but is an Enemy : A Cenfor appears an Enemy, but is a Friend. The Flatterer is obliging, and would lend a Sword to a Madman ; the Cenfor appears uncivil, because he would wrest a Sword out of a bad Hand. Panegyrist is like Ladies of Pleasure, who entice Youth into Vice ; and a Satyr-ist is like a Schoolmaster, who drives us to Virtue with the Rod.

There are both good and bad Men in the World. Flattery may turn the good into bad ; and Satyr may turn the bad into good. If there were no Censors or Satyrists in the World, Vice and Immorality would get the Ascendant. *Thales* being asked, which Beasts were the most mischievous ; answered, “ Of the wild
“ kind, Tyrants ; and of the tame, Flatter-
“ ers.”

Origin
and Use of
Panegyric.

Most Panegyrics are like blasting Winds, and blight what they touch. But I would not banish panegyric Writing ; which is extremely useful, if not misapplied, or its original Design perverted. *Pericles* is supposed to have first instituted Encomiums, and Funeral Orations, at *Athens*, to the Honour of those Heroes who lost their Lives in the Service of their Country. History shews, that this Kind of Parentation proved useful ; because the Living were thereby encouraged to follow the Examples of such departed Heroes. *Pliny's* Panegyric is exemplary ; as *Trajan* deserved the Praise he received. The same may be said of several other panegyric Performances ;

formances; whereby Men are excited to Virtue and Valour.

But this useful Institution has, in later Times, How per-
verted. been so perverted, that it is grown fashionable to praise People, indiscriminately; so that, what was formerly bestowed as a Reward to Virtue, now serves to encourage Vice: for, our common Panegyrics, Encomiums, Inscriptions, Characters, and Funeral Orations, are vicious and infectious. Praise indifferently bestowed upon the Good and Bad, both living and dead, can only shew, that the Orator is hired. Every living Weight is now painted in the Colours of Virtue; and every dead one as having discharged his Duty, and gone to receive his Crown of Glory.

As all Panegyric is not to be rejected; so all Satyr di-
stinguish-
ed. Satyr is not to be approved: for, some Satyrs are mischievous and criminal; but others useful and lawful. The lawful Satyrs are the general; that point at no particular Person. A Satyr that has human Nature for its Object, is innocent; that which aims at a Nation is more innocent than that which touches a Family; and that which touches a Family, more innocent than that which strikes at a single Person.

Unlawful Satyr may either aim at innocent, or Unlawful
Satyr. guilty People. The first is the most punishable; because Injury is done by it. The second, tho' it may contain nothing but Truth, yet cannot be allowed in Society; because a private Hand thus inflicts Punishment, which only belongs to the Government. All Satyr is unjust, that carries

Marks of Pride, Superiority, Malevolence, or Insolence.

Unlawful Satyr acts in different Ways. Sometimes it goes directly to work, and falls upon Persons without Ceremony, or Management. This Kind of Satyr may be taken as common Discourse, and be punished accordingly. Another Kind makes use of Turn and Detour, to avoid the Penalty of the Law; yet this sometimes wounds deeper than the former. A blunt Satyrift may lash the Failings or Vices of particular Persons, and meet with the Punishment he deserves; whilst another shall do the same Thing, indirectly, under feigned Names; but escape unsuspected, and unpunished. Yet the Effect is the same in both Cases; and the Intention sometimes worse in the latter; tho' the Manner may screen the Writer, even from Reproach. I knew a censorious Lady, who was little suspected, because she never censured in her own Person; but when she was pleased to have her Fling, or brand her Friend for a Coquette, would cry, "The dear good Creature has many Enemies: they say she is false to her Husband; I dare swear they bely her. To be sure the World is very censorious, &c." This Weapon double dipt in Malice and Pity, stabs a Character civilly.

Censure in this soft Way finds the greater Credit; as it appears to come from a compassionate Friend. Many Authors successfully use this Artifice in Satyr; and at once procure the Reputation of Discretion and Compassion. But, Satyrists writing from a bad Heart, are like the *Lacedemonian*

monian Tyrant, *Nabis*; who had an Engine made in the Form of a Woman, and called it *Apega*. It was so contrived as to walk, and embrace People, with its Arms stuck full of Spikes. *Nabis* frequently sent for the *Lacedemonian* Citizens, to extort Money from them: if they gave it readily, he dismissed them quietly; but if they began to excuse themselves, he introduced his *Apega*, with these Words, "My Wife's Reprothoric may penetrate deeper." Then *Apega* wounded the reluctant Citizens so, as to make them roar, and promise what they could not perform.

There is a Kind of Satyr, consisting in foolish Satyrical Apology; whereby a Failing, that was only Apology. known to few, becomes a general Town-Talk. A Pastor, upon hearing one of his Parishioners complain of two or three Neighbours, who had called him Cuckold, bid the good Man be comforted, and promised to take Care of him: accordingly, the Pastor next Sunday proclaimed in the Church, "Whereas certain Persons of this Congregation say, N. N. is a Cuckold; this is to let them know that the Report is false; and in case it were true, yet such People have nothing to do with it." This Apology could have no better Effect, than the Honour intended to Cardinal *Mailly*, Archbishop of *Rheims*. The Cardinal, it seems, was generally hated, for persecuting those who rejected the *Constitution Unigenitus*. But, among his few Followers was the public Executioner; who, to

shew his Esteem of the Prelate, hung the Image of his Eminency out of his Window : by which Demonstration of Zeal, the Cardinal obtained the Sarcasm, that “ the Executioner had hanged him “ in Effigy.” Many Apologies, and Demonstrations of Honour, have a similar Effect. Indeed, they may sometimes be designed in Simplicity ; but we have Reason to believe, that the greatest Part of them are rank Satyr.

Motives
to Satyr.

As some write Satyr out of Malice, or Revenge, others do it out of Pride, or Ostentation. They both deserve Punishment ; for tho’ the Intention differs, the Effect produced is the same. A certain Poet, by Name *Madera*, having abused *Fontana*, a *Roman* Lady, by calling her Whore in a Satyr ; and excusing himself, as doing it for the Rhime’s sake, because *Putana* rhimed to *Fontana* : Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth condemned him to the Gallies ; alledging that *Madera* rhimed to *Galera*. *Æsop*. represents Boys diverting themselves with flinging Stones at Frogs in a Pond, and killing some : when one of the wounded, peeping out of the Water cried, “ Children, what is Sport to you, is “ Death to us.”

The Emperor *Caligula* exercised many of his Cruelties merely for Pastime. His Uncle *Claudius* had a Custom of sleeping at Table, and of scratching his Face when he waked. *Caligula* once ordered Iron Hooks to be fastened at the Ends of his Uncle’s Fingers, whilst he lay asleep in this Manner, and then waking him in a
Hurry ;

Sect. I. and EDUCATION.

Hurry; *Claudius* so scratched his Face, as to make it run down with Blood.

It was the Way at *Roman* Auctions, for the Bidder to nod with his Head, when he bid for any Thing. *Caligula* being present at an Auction, and finding a Patrician asleep, ordered the Auctioneer to knock the Goods to that Gentleman, at every Nod he made; so that upon waking, the Patrician found himself involved in an immense Debt. Thus some People satyrize others, only to shew ill-natured Wit; whilst the Satyr may prove as hurtful to the Person, as if it was directed by an Enemy: for, a Wound is a Wound to the Receiver, come it from Friend or Foe. And hence personal Satyr is criminal, and unbecoming of any Man; but especially a Philosopher.

General Satyr, on the contrary, is not only ^{The just} lawful, but useful: for, aiming at Vices, more Satyr. than Persons; it corrects the Vice, without hurting the Person. But Satyr having been often misapplied, the Word is become odious. The Great *Alexowitz* once censured a Gentleman for reading *Juvenal*; because he had heard that *Juvenal* was a Satyrist: but when the Matter was explained to the *Czar*, he ordered the Work to be translated. If Men were totally to lay aside Satyr and Censure; then Preaching must be given up. All Preachers against Vice, are Censors and Satyrists. But every intelligent Man who hears his Vices censured, endeavours to correct them, without being enraged

enraged at the innocent Dart, which hits numerous others as well as himself. None but Fools are alarmed at general Censure. Fools, like *Don Quixote*, imagine all that stirs in the World, even the Windmill, designed to catch them. Such weak People look upon jocosè Morality as unlawful.

Effects of
Praise and
Blame in
Life.

Praise and Blame, in private Life, are nearly related to Panegyric and Satyr. Cold Praise is more pernicious than hot Blame. He who praises coolly, seems willing to praise, if he had Matter; and he who blames with Violence, is thought ready to commend, if he saw Reason for it. The former appears as an easy Friend; but the latter as a declared Enemy. If a Friend has nothing to produce in our Praise, he sinks our Reputation; but if an Enemy grow inveterate against us, he chiefly hurts his own Character. The Luke-warmness of a Friend is more nauseous, than the Satyr of an Enemy: for, it seems as if a subtle Poison lay under cool Praise; whilst gross and outrageous Invective shews open Rage and Malevolence. The one hurts without Threatening; and the other threatens without Hurting.

Epitaphs.

The greatest Part of Epitaphs, Inscriptions, Characters, and Panegyrics, are real Satyrs. For, tho' the Writer may design them in the Way of Encomium; yet, as they seldom express more than what is trite, trivial, or general; the plain *English* of them is this: "The Man whom I would fain
" represent as a Hero in Virtue, has unfortu-
" nately left me no Materials for the Purpose."

This

This Kind of Panegyric resembles a Medal, with a Head on one Side, and a Blank for the Reverse. The World abounds with Accounts of Lives, containing little more than the Birth, Baptism, Education, Marriage, and End of the Hero described: “ Here lies *John Small*; that is all.”

This short Epitaph gives us a just Emblem of the satyrical Nature, or small Importance, of the common Epitaphs and Inscriptions. For, tho’ they may be made with a good Design; yet that cannot direct the Effect they shall produce; nor hinder the Living from seeing with their own Eyes. The Characters generally written, whether in Verse or Prose, at Large, or in Miniature, prove no more than that the Deceased was a Man. And of what Service is this to the Survivors? Are we in Danger of forgetting the indifferent Actions which People perform every Day? It is certainly better not to speak of a Person, than to relate such Things of him as are not worth relating. Here Silence can do no Harm, and may pass for Modesty; whereas, speaking and writing may lessen or tarnish the Reputation of the Deceased; and flat Praise be construed into sharp Satyr.

It is related as an ancient Custom in some Countries, that a Corpse was never buried, till Charac-
ters. some body appeared and spoke in Praise of the Deceased. This Custom prevented very few Funerals; because let a Man have led ever so bad a Life, yet there would still be some Ground of speaking to his Praise. During this Term, however, there happened to die an Usurer, who, by his Extortion, had made himself univer-

universally hated. His Corpse lay long unburied ; because not one Inhabitant of the City had a Word to say in his Favour. But, at length there appeared a Barber ; who testified, that “ the Deceased had an easy Beard to shave.” This Testimony was a more stinging Satyr, than the Silence of the City. If the same Law of Burial had place in our Time, we might easily account for the Praise so liberally bestowed upon the Dead ; and need not wonder at the dry, dull Epitaphs, and Characters we abound with.

Cool
Praise.

We have a Proverb, “ Half-Praise is Half-Blame.” But, in many Cases, Half-Praise is entire Blame, particularly in Panegyrical Poems ; where the End, Purport, and Design, is to extol : for, if nothing Praise-worthy should here be found, we may rest assured the Poet had nothing to praise. And tho’, in such Poems, we meet with the Epithets Great, Virtuous, Pious, &c. yet these are Words so far from suiting the Person’s Actions, as to render him more ridiculous. High Titles, pompous Expression, sublime Diction itself, and the finest Writing, can never blind the moral Eye, even in the best Heroic Poem.

Wrong
Praise.

If we carefully analyse the *Æneid* ; lay aside the beautiful Episodes ; and examine the Hero as he stands represented ; shall we not find the good *Æneas* rather satyrized than praised ? He is shipwrecked upon the Coast of *Carthage* ; and hospitably received by Queen *Dido*. He abuses her, under the Pretext of Marriage ; forsakes her, and throws the Blame upon his Mother *Venus*, who

who had laid out another Wife for him. From thence he goes to *Italy*; where he robs *Turnus* of his beloved and betrothed Bride, and kills the King. If *Æneas* could have seen this Poem, perhaps he might not have been pleased with his own Character in it. *Virgil's* primary View in this shining Work, seems rather to have been the raising of his own Name, than *Æneas's* Reputation: for, the Style is as great a Demonstration of a sublime Genius, as the History is of a despicable Hero; however set off with the Epithet *pious*: which, suiting the Hero so little, looks like a Sarcasm. Such a Witness for his Hero's Virtue may be styled as Men please; yet fine Epithets will not convince any Man, that the Writer merits the Thanks of his Hero. No Recommendation at all is better than a cold one; no Witness better than one that hurts us. This, even, sensible Servants know; and therefore when dismissed, choose to have no Character, if their Masters will not give them a good one.

XII.

Of the different Stations of Life.

HUMAN Happiness and Misery, may ^{That} be greatly increased or diminished by ^{Happiness} Imagination. Many will think this contrary ^{may de-} to Common Sense and Experience: but I ^{pend upon} desire to be heard; for, tho' my Notions ^{Opinion.} may

may not deserve entire Approbation ; yet I judge they may contribute to make Men easier in their respective Stations.

The Rich
and Poor
compared,
as to Diet.

I presume there is no great Difference betwixt those we call Happy and Unhappy, Fortunate and Unfortunate, in this World. The Situation of the Rich differs not considerably from that of the Poor. The Poor have little to eat ; and the Rich eat but little ; the Poor thro' Want, and the Rich thro' Satiety : so that both frequently rise half-empty from Table. The Poor have as great a Relish for their Pottage, as the Rich for their Dainties. All Meats taste well to the Poor. “ He eats the most, who is farthest from the Kitchen ; and he drinks the most who is farthest from the Cellar.” *Dionysius*, King of *Corinth*, despised the *Spartan* Broth, for want of Appetite : but *Darius*, who once, in his Flight, drank foul Water, declared he never before tasted so delicious a Liquor.

The Poor are usually healthful, strong, and active ; for, Poverty nourishes, tho' it does not fatten : but the Rich are generally tender, weak, and inactive. The Poor have little, and their Wants are few : the Rich enjoy but little in themselves, and are always craving. The Poor are satisfied with Things easily procurable, and of small Expence ; but idle Gratifications have no Bounds. If the poor Man eats not immoderately, he enjoys the more Health ; and if he drinks but little, he sleeps the sounder, and wakes the fresher. It seems difficult to determine whose Condition is the best, that of the Poor or that of

of the Rich ; because what Men call Good, must not be rated according to its Price, but according to the Use and Relish of it ; where Caprice or Fashion come not into Consideration. The Thing that gives one Man Pleasure, may give Pain to another : and what affects one Man moderately, shall strongly affect another. The Matter must here be considered, not absolutely, but relatively ; not according to the Thing itself, but according to the Effects it produces. The poor Man keeps as good a Table for himself, as the Rich. Few Men, in Proportion, die for Hunger ; but great Numbers, from Superfluity and Excess : so that, in this respect, we may reckon the Poor more happy than the Rich.

They are both of them encumbered : the Poor for their Sustenance ; the Rich in preserving their Estates. The rich Man is under Apprehensions of Robbers, Borrowers, and Cheats ; acts as a Guard at home, and an Overlooker abroad ; watching around, that no body comes too near him. The poor Man is less encumbered, less anxious, less upon his Guard, and may travel the World over without Danger of being plundered.

We usually find the Rich thoughtful, timorous, and mistrustful : the Poor are commonly freer from Cares and Anxieties. If a Beggar appear sorrowful, it is often a Colour put on to move Compassion. But allowing their Cares to be equal, yet the Anxieties of the Poor are short, and immediately removed by a small Gift ; whereas, the Care of the Rich is more constant. This appears not only in particular Persons ; but even
in

in whole Nations. What People are richer than the *English*? Yet where do we find Despair and Self-Murder so common as in *England*? The *Scythians* lived in perpetual Poverty; but had a great Regard to their Lives. The *English* generally live in a Course of Superfluity; yet often grow weary of themselves. *Cicero* mentions an Epitaph, found in his Time, upon a certain Person called *Cleombrotus*, who having met with no Misfortune in Life, grew so tired of perpetual Felicity, that he drowned himself. There are many rich and honourable Persons found among the *Spaniards*, who voluntarily resign their domestic Felicity, associate with Beggars, and go from Door to Door; in which sort of Life these Gentry find a Kind of Pleasure: and judge, according to the Saying, that “He is as happy as a Lord, who can beg where he pleases.”

Want and Superfluity may be attended with equal Inconveniences; as intense Cold and Heat have equally bad Effects. The Poor will sometimes sigh, upon seeing the Rich ride by in their Chariots: but splendid Equipage contributes little to Self-Content. It is not uncommon to see dejected Countenances in gilt Coaches; and merry Faces behind them.

Some rich Men, indeed, live in a constant Course of Pleasure, without being weary of it: but how great a Temptation to Folly and Foppery, Dissoluteness and Debauchery, is this State of Affluence?

Their
Friends.

It may be objected, that the Poor have no Friends, and therefore commonly fare ill in Contests

tests with the Rich. But we must also consider, that the numerous Friends of the Rich are seldom better than Table-Friends. And as to Law-Suits, it is indeed a common Saying, that “the Poor can have no Justice;” but this Saying seems to have arisen from the Poor themselves, who daily use the Plea with Success. For, many compassionate Judges favour the Poor; and Experience shews, that a poor Woman’s Tears and sorrowful Countenance will sometimes have a greater Effect at the Bar, than two substantial Witnesses. For my part, I dread the having a Law-Suit with a poor Man, more than with a rich one; and look upon him as a dangerous Plaintiff. There are numerous Examples of Persons who plead Poverty, not so much out of Necessity, as to render their Opponent odious; and by that Means obtain a more favourable Sentence. Pity has often more Influence over a Judge than it ought. In a certain Cause betwixt a Christian and a wealthy Jew, the Jew was condemned to pay Costs, first, because he could better afford it; and secondly, because his Ancestors crucified our Saviour.

The Poor, it is true, have not many Friends; but are, in some measure, assured of the Sincerity of the few they have; whilst the Rich and Powerful cannot so well depend upon the Sincerity of theirs, who do not all serve the Person, so much as the Place. The Emperor *Julian* hearing himself praised, replied, “If this
“ Praise came from those who had full Liberty

“ of praising, or blaming, it would please me.”
And hence, perhaps, the State of the Poor, in respect of Friends, is tolerable.

Difference
betwixt
Masters
and Ser-
vants.

To consider the Difference betwixt Master and Servant; when I reflect upon the Hardships, Compulsion, and Labour, to which Servants are subject, it appears as if their Situation was wretched: but when I find them generally fresh, healthy, contented, and fuller of Joy than their Masters, my Pity for them abates. Servants suffer more Hardships than their Masters; but those Hardships are the less, because Servants bear them better: for, a Hardship is no Hardship, if a Man can submit to it chearfully.

The Great make themselves conspicuous by their Riches, their Power, and their Freedom. But can they be properly called rich, who, the more they possess, the more they covet, and are themselves Servants to their Superiors, Slaves to their own Passions, Follies, and Vices; and often to other People's? Can they be called free, whose Appetites, being at Variance with one another, admit of no solid Joy, or true Contentment? We sometimes see Servants suffer under Reproach, and hard Duty; but we also see Masters suffer from their Superiors; and upon one stern Look, a single Frown, or angry Nod from a Prince, immediately sicken, take to their Beds and die. The Inquietudes of Servants are renewed by Starts or Intervals, and have their Rotation; but those of Masters are more constant, and sometimes end not but with Death.

How many Cares and Anxieties are Masters exposed to, which Servants are free from? When
we

we consider the Happiness of Princes, and view them with a philosophical Eye, we find, that the Ruler of a Country is a kind of Watchman ; who wakes, that his Subjects may sleep the safer. And hence King *Antigonus* told his Son, that “ Governing is an honourable Slavery.” The same may be said of every Master of a Family, who has the Care of his own Affairs at Heart. And hence the Difference betwixt Master and Servant consists chiefly in the Name : and we sometimes see, that, when their outward Conditions are exchanged, their internal remain unaltered.

Prosperity and Rising in Life is only altering our Situation : and the obtaining of Riches is not ending our Misery, but changing the Scene. A certain Gentleman, whose Servants complained to him of their long and hard Service, and desired to be dismissed ; said to them archly, “ Do but imagine yourselves Masters, and you are so.” This, as an Answer, was trifling ; yet the Thought is philosophical. An Actor, who every Night represents a King, differs but little from a real King ; except that, with the Royal Robes, the former lays aside the Cares of the Crown. The younger *Dionysius*, when deposed from the Throne of *Sicily*, might imagine himself still a King, when a Schoolmaster at *Corinth*. There is a great Difference betwixt a Consul of *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, &c. and a *Roman* Consul ; but if the modern Consuls will fancy themselves equal in Dignity with the *Roman*, they may be as happy.

A Set of pleasant Gentlemen formed themselves into a Society, representing the Pope and his College of Cardinals. The Person who acted the Pope, had so trained himself, as to shew a constant Seriousness in all his Gestures and Discourse; wherein he became so expert, that by mimicking another Nature, he seemed to have lost his own. For, after this Society was broke up, having occasion, upon a certain Affair at Law, to appear in Court, he spoke with so much Gravity and Sublimity, that the Assessors, who knew nothing of his History, took him to be in Liquor. But when the Judge in Court informed his Brethren, that the Gentleman had lately been a Pope, their Displeasure turned to Laughter. Hence we see the Difference betwixt a high and low Station may often consist in Imagination.

What a Man has most to value himself upon, is Understanding, and the Gifts of the Mind. These are our only real Possessions. Riches and Honours are Things external, which we do not intrinsically possess. But the Powers of the Understanding belong to Servants as well as Masters. King *Henry* the Eighth permitted his Subjects to read the Bible, with an Exception only to Footmen; but the Order was repealed under *Edward* the Sixth; it being alledged, that many Servants might have more Understanding than their Masters.

Difference
betwixt
the Heal-
thy and
Sickly.

I will venture a little farther, and enquire what Difference there is betwixt Sickness and Health. Every Man prizes Health, as an inestimable Treasure: let us therefore proceed cautiously.

ously. In *Klim's* Subterraneous Voyage, a People is mentioned that were subject to no Diseases; yet did not look upon themselves as happy, because their Health was constant; nor did they even observe they were healthy, because they knew not what Sickness was; and therefore lived in an uninterrupted Course of Indifference. The Nature of Man is so framed, as to grow satiated with a good Thing, if it be permanent. Sick People, on the other hand, have Pleasure in being relieved from their Sickness; and when their Fever intermits, they reckon the Intervals for happy Days; so that they receive a re-doubled Joy from their periodical Reliefs. If we compare the uniform Indifference of the Sound, with the interchangeable Sufferings and Joys of the Sick, we shall find them nearly equipollent: for, as the former reckon no bad Days, they reckon no good ones. We never esteem fair Weather till we have experienced foul. And we may here apply what Astronomers say of the Sun, viz. that all the Inhabitants of the Earth have an equal Quantity of Sun-shine; because the People at the Poles, tho' they have no Day in Winter; yet in Summer they have no Night; so that, taking in the whole Year, they have as much Sun-shine as warmer Climates. If we attend to those few Persons who enjoy constant Health, we shall find them neither joyful nor sorrowful; but commonly indifferent and disagreeable. It might be added, that the equable Temperament which causes their Health, checks their Fire and Activity; whilst

the Spirit raised by a Hectic, may prove an Incentive to Virtue : but what Motive can there be to Activity and practical Virtue, where only Indifference and Insensibility reign?

The
Bed-rid.

When the Question turns upon a Sick-bed, or those who labour under continued Illness, I acknowledge the Point harder to manage ; for it appears foolish to doubt of the great Infelicity to which these are subjected. I shall therefore content myself with administering some Comfort to those, who are so unfortunate as to be troubled with bad Constitutions, or constant ill Health.

Experience shews, that all Misfortunes prove least tolerable in their first Attack ; and that when the Shock and Fury of a Disease is over, it becomes like a Wasp which has lost its Sting. All Pain which remits and returns, proves sharper than that which always continues : short Pains, like short Tyrannies, are the most violent. And hence, People constantly sick, or in Pain, are better armed with Patience ; because their Illness loses of its Violence by Continuance ; and the Patient becomes disciplined and hardened by long Suffering.

The Apprehension of Death, which usually frightens Men in acute Illnesses, is a Comfort and Support to infirm and decayed People ; because they look upon approaching Death as their Deliverer from Misery, who is to knock off their Shackles, and open the Prison. We all go willingly out of a House that is falling. There is no body so fearful, but had rather once tumble, than remain always tottering. Nature herself
here

here stretches out her Hand, and inspires us with Courage. When Death comes speedily, it allows little Time for Fear; if it comes slowly, we acquire a Disregard and Distaste of Life, as our Disease increases. To be willing to die, is harder for a Man in Health, than in Sicknefs. The Fear of Death diminishes, as the Pleasures of Life decay. A besieged Town, after having long withstood the Besiegers, is willing at last to surrender: so, a Man who has long been sick, at length easily submits to Death. And whoever is worn out by old Age or Sicknefs, is fitter for dying than living. An old, weak, and worn-out Soldier, begged *Cæsar's* Leave to dispatch himself; *Cæsar* asked him if he thought himself alive? *Num enim vivis?* It is related of an old Soldier, in the Army of *Antigonus*, that he excelled all the rest in Valour and Bravery; but had very bad Health. The King therefore ordered he should be taken particular Care of; so that by means of Medicines, he was perfectly restored: but from this Time it was remarked that he lost his Bravery; which the King reproaching him with, the Man answered, that his Majesty was to be blamed for it; because it was upon the recovering of his Health that he acquired a Desire to live, and a Fear to die. And hence we see, that Sicknefs itself is a Support against the Fear of Death: for “it is a Happiness to die when it becomes a Misery to live.” To this may be added, the spiritual Joys and Comforts afforded to Persons visited with long-continued Sicknefs.

I therefore conclude, that the Life both of Rich and Poor, Master and Servant, Sick and Sound, is only one Series of Misery, interspersed with short Enjoyments. The Miseries of Life prove greater or less in proportion as we lay them to Heart. Many Things appear insupportable, only because we are weak. A well disposed Mind is the real Treasure of Man. Bodily Goods are unstable; and if they were more permanent, we should either grow weary of them, or live in Apprehension of losing them at last. All Fear only consists in Dread of future Misfortunes. And as the various States and Conditions of Men differ more in Name than Reality; we have all of us Reason to remain contented with the Dispensation of Providence; especially since this Life is only the rugged Road to a better.

XIII.

Of Man's Happiness.

Good and
bad For-
tune what. **G**OOD and Bad, Affluence and Want, Felicity and Misfortune, are great or little, just as we suit ourselves to them. Some look upon little Accidents as great Afflictions; and a slender Advantage as high Prosperity. When a sumptuous Dinner was once presented to *Lyfander*, he ordered the *Hilotes*, or *Lacedemonian* Slaves, to eat it; and contented himself with his own ordinary Diet. *Agesslaus*, receiving a Present of
fine

fine Liquors and Provisions, kept no Part for himself, but some Meal. He is the richest Man, who desires no Superfluity, and wants for no Necessary.

It is in vain to commiserate a Person who does not feel unhappy ; and wrong to account any one happy who feels miserable. That Man is rich, who thinks he abounds ; and he is contented who slights Misfortunes. The discontented Rich are poor ; and those unhappy, whom small Misfortunes subdue.

The Man addicted to Sorrow, is not joyful in ^{The Un-} Prosperity ; and a rich Miser may live worse than ^{happy.} a Beggar. Fortune, in itself, is neither good nor bad ; but as we comport with it. And, in this Sense, “ Every Man makes his own Fortune.”

If Losses happen to a Friend, we condole with him : but if he is neither dejected nor made miserable by them, can we condole with him in this Situation ? We should rather felicitate him upon his coming off victorious after an Engagement. Misfortunes touch not him who does not feel them.

On the other hand, we may go to felicitate a ^{The} Friend upon some great good Luck, and find him ^{Happy,} unhappy : some small Accident may have ruffled his Mind, and rendered him unattentive to his good Fortune. In this Case, our intended Congratulation may justly be turned to Condolance ; for tho’ his Disasters are slender, yet they are afflicting, if he lays them to Heart. It is not the Thing in itself that torments us, but the Thoughts and Feelings we have of it. If we

arm ourselves, and make a Stand against Misfortunes, we suffer the less. He who valiantly meets his Enemy, often obtains an honourable Capitulation. It is always a Comfort and an Honour to meet Misfortunes bravely: for no Man can prove his Courage, but by Trial.

To shew that good or bad Fortune is just as it is felt; we need only resume the Consideration of Master and Servant: for, Masters, in general, appear no happier than their Servants. We are not to look for Contentment in Palaces alone, but may as well find it in Huts. I one Day visited two particular Persons. The first was Master of an elegant House and Garden. I asked him, if he expected good Fruit that Year? He answered, he could say nothing of his Garden; because he scarce ever went out of his Bedchamber. The second was so confined in a little dark Room, that I thought him incommodiously lodged; but he found many Conveniences, which I could not see, in this close Apartment. He told me how still and quiet his Chamber was; that it enjoyed the Summer's Sun, and felt no Winter Blasts. Among other Things, he shewed me his Pleasure-Garden; which consisted of a few Flower-Pots, ranged on the outside of his Window; then asked me what I thought of his Habitation. I assured him, I was just come from a Gentleman of Fortune, who did not enjoy so many Conveniences. Indeed, a Gentleman may be poor in the midst of Plenty: but to be discontented with Riches, is accumulated Poverty.

We

We must not judge a Thing to be great or little, with regard to our own Opinions, but as it affects the Possessor. A Man may be more justly congratulated upon possessing what we think a Trifle, than upon enjoying what we esteem a substantial Good ; provided the Possessor be delighted with the former, and disrelishes the latter. If a Person purchase a Title, he may appear to us deserving of Commiseration ; because he parts with his Money, which we call a Good, to buy an empty Name, or Shadow of a Thing : yet, if the Person is really and internally rejoiced at his Purchase, it proves no Shadow to him, but a Substance : for, a Man's Mind is his Kingdom. The Purchaser bestows his Money well, who remains satisfied with his Bargain.

If a Misfortune befall us, and we think “ it
 “ well it was no worse ;” the Hurt cannot be great. An Emperor of *Japan*, being born under the Constellation of the Dog, conceived such an Affection for the Canine Species, that he ordered, whenever a Dog died, the Owner of him should carry the Carcass to a certain Burying-Ground, appointed for that Purpose. As a Gentleman was one Day sweating under the Load of his dead Dog, and complaining of the Hardship of the Order ; his Friend, to comfort him, said,
 “ We have Reason to thank God, that the Em-
 “ peror was not born under the Horse ; for a
 “ Horse would have been a much heavier Bur-
 “ then.” Could any ancient *Greek* Philosopher have moralized better upon the Occasion ?

There

Man's
Likings
and Dis-
likes.

There is nothing more strange, and at the same time more common, than for one Man to judge of another, by his own Taste. We hear, every Day, one Neighbour censuring another for his Manner of Life ; tho' no body can determine which of the two leads the best, whilst each of them follows his own Inclination. We say to a Proverb, " Every Man as he likes." And whoever lives according to his own Liking, always lives happily ; tho' in his Neighbour's Eye he may appear to live miserably. He who follows his own Inclination, is happy. When we censure another's Manner of Eating and Drinking, his Studies or his Labours, his solitary or sociable Life, &c. it is no better than saying, " Regulate your Appetite according to mine ; and tho' your Taste and Constitution may be different, yet live as I and others do." This is downright Tyranny ; and making one Man the Tormentor of another : for, to deprive me of what I like, is robbing me of my Choice, and natural Liberty. He who would regulate other People's Taste according to his own, behaves like a Child who says to his Bird, " Thou shalt sleep in my own Bed ;" then puts the little Creature into his Bosom, goes to Bed with it, and finds it dead in the Morning.

Those who exhort others to live after their Manner, consider not that they relished, in their Youth, the very Things they dislike in advanced Age ; and now follow with Pleasure the Studies they formerly disliked. To compel old People to use their youthful Recreations, would be

be robbing them of their present Enjoyments. “ Other Times other Manners ; other Minds “ other Pleasures.” I had formerly Pleasure in Dancing, for which at present I find no Relish. And if any Man censures me for this, he may as well censure me for being grown older. If we duly observed this Change of Taste in ourselves, we should not declaim against those Ways of others, which are as natural as our own : nor exhort our Friends to follow our Examples ; which is no other than kindly endeavouring to deprive them of their Solace and Comfort.

One Man pities his Neighbour for walking on Foot, who, in return, pities him for using a Coach : for my part I pity neither, provided they both are pleased. I do not even pity the *Russian* Women, who beg a Beating of their Husbands ; but look upon them as happy, if they really relish this Kind of Repast. Our Tastes are various, and produce good Effects in the World. Some are pleased with Concords, others more with Discords, in Music. Some prefer the Cry of a Pack of Hounds to a Concert ; as a certain *Scythian* General preferred the neighing of a Horse to the Sound of a Trumpet. Those Things suit every Man best, which are most agreeable to him. Whatever is good or bad for us, in our own Estimation, and Experience, is good or bad in Reality. An imaginary Illness is real to the Person ; and imaginary Honour real to the Possessor. Hence, if any Man rejoices in a Title, I congratulate with him ; not upon account of the Title, but, on account of his Joy.

Our

As our Taste must not regulate that of others, we should not call a Pleasure unnatural, because it does not suit with our Nature. Nor ought we to censure the Inclinations of others, merely because they contradict our own; but rather encourage every Man to follow the Bent of his particular Nature and Appetite; provided we do not countenance hurtful Pleasures. We must check and restrain all such Inclinations, both in ourselves and others, as tend to impair and destroy the Body, wound the Mind, and bring Misery upon Man. Here we must all sacrifice our Taste to our Happiness. In other Respects, it is best to follow Nature; and we may justly esteem those happy, who are at Liberty to do it.

Content. If *Diogenes* lived contented in his Tub, he was as happy as *Alexander*. Equal Content, will render Men equally happy, in the different Situations of Life.

XIV.

The Philosopher and Fool compared in Point of Happiness.

The Sto-
ical wife
Man.

THE Stoics hold, that the wise Man alone is happy. This Tenet I subscribe to; and here at least keep in the common Road. Many, I know, are displeased with paradoxical Opinions: I also dislike them myself, when they

are

are only sported to shew Wit, Learning, or Superiority of Genius. I approve, I say, of this Maxim of the Stoics; I applaud their Manner of Reasoning, and the Arguments made use of, particularly by *Cicero*, in Proof and Support of it. For, *Cicero* has treated the Subject with such Force and Fulness, that scarce any thing is left to be added. And, indeed, who can deny that Man to be rich, and free, and happy, who despises Riches, controuls his Passions, and remains untouched by Misfortunes? And, can any one doubt, that those are Beggars and Slaves, who stoop and cringe to their own Passions, and Lusts; who are cast down by the smallest Misfortunes; or, like *Tantalus*, suffer Hunger and Thirst in the midst of Plenty? Against all this nothing can be opposed: and we may justly call them wise, who are thus at once, rich, happy, and free.

I have only one Scruple, which I submit to ^{Whether} their Consideration who defend this Stoical ^{real.} Maxim without Limitation; and beg they would give me such a Description of their wise Man, as may enable me to know him when I meet him. I have no Doubt of the wise Man's Happiness; I barely question whether he has any Existence but in Idea. "I cannot," says the great Philosopher *Crantor*, "approve of those
 " who speak so big of a certain Kind of Resigna-
 " tion and Indifference, which neither exists, nor
 " can exist. We are not made of Stone; there
 " is something soft and weak in our Minds,
 " which makes them easily bend and yield." Here

we see, by the ingenuous Confession, even of a Stoic, how slightly those Qualities are grounded, which the Sect attribute to their wise Man ; and that such Qualities cannot be attributed to a Man composed of Flesh and Blood, but only to an imaginary Man. And, accordingly, *Cicero* says, that such a wise Man resembles the Gods. *Hunc ego non cum summis Viris comparo ; sed Diis similitimum judico.*

The wise
Man and
Fool com-
pared.

If this be the Case ; and if Experience testify, that the Greatness of Mind, Steadiness, and Perfection, ascribed to the wise Man, are rather to be found in the abstract Ideas of Philosophers, than in the real World ; perhaps the Happiness here ascribed to the wise Man, may rather be found in the Fool. Let us therefore compare the Fool with the Philosopher, or such a wise Man as consists of Flesh and Blood.

The wise
Man.

Many Things torment a Philosopher, merely because he is wise : for, as he knows himself, he sees what he can, and what he cannot perform ; he sees his own Vices and Virtues, his Weakness and Strength, his Wants and Possessions. Past, present, and future Things stand before him ; he perceives the Faults he commits, and fears to commit more : hence he lives in Trouble, Anxiety, and Dread ; whereby his Happiness, which should consist in Peace and Serenity of Mind, becomes clouded and disturbed. When Matters turn out unexpectedly to him, he condemns his own Want of Foresight ; when he performs any Thing successfully, he is scarce contented, because he finds a kind of Imperfection, even
in

in his best Actions; as judging they might have been better performed; blaming himself, and fearing the Censure of others: whence his Knowledge lessens his Joy. *Aristotle* was not satisfied with his own Writings; and, near his Death, ordered them to be suppressed. *Virgil* felt the same Uneasiness: and therefore directed the burning of his *Æneid*. Few prudent Generals can, like *Alexander*, sleep sound, the Night before a Battle. Few prudent Statesmen can avoid Concern and Uneasiness, when they give Counsel. To weigh, consider, and doubt, is the Character of every wise Man.

Now, the Fool is free from Troubles of this Kind. If he conducts Things unsuccessfully, he throws the Blame upon Fortune; if he commits a Fault, he does not acknowledge it; and when others laugh at him, he values himself the more. If People censure his Words or Actions, he ascribes it to Malice, Calumny, or the wrong Turn of the Times. That Kind of Laughter, which plays in the Face of the Fool, and officiously waits upon his Discourse, shews he admires, and is delighted with himself. If others are not moved along with him, he presently infers, that they are dull, and have not understood him, or taken the Strength of his Discourse. He looks upon those as lumpish, who do not dance to his Tune; he pities the poor Creatures, and confirms himself in his own pleasing Opinion, that he is wiser than the rest. If the Fool writes Verses, he yields to no Poet but *Homer*; and that only because of *Homer's* Antiquity.

Character
of the
Fool.

If the Matter stand thus, does not the Self-love of the Fool fill his Heart with Content and Joy? Tho' the Fool possess no one Virtue, yet he fancies himself possessed of them all: and Imagination and Self-Opinion is a kind of Possession. For, as the *Malade-imaginaire* remains really disordered, till he becomes well; so an imaginary Possession is real, as long as the Imagination continues. The Fool is like that odd Fellow at *Athens*, who rejoiced over the Ships which came into the Harbour, believing them all his own: or like that Hypochondriac, who imagined he constantly heard Seraphic Music; and instead of gratifying the Physician for his Cure, accused him, as a Thief, who had robbed him of his Delight. The Fool is a great Self-Flatterer; sees nothing but Beauty in himself, and never observes his own Failings; which rather appear as so many Perfections in his Eye. The Fool takes Shadow for Substance; and runs about after Baubles, and Show, and the Names of Things; which to him appear Matters of Consequence: and as these Trifles are easily obtainable, he never wants Play-Things to please and delight him. Nay, let him be despised and turned out of Office; yet he takes no Shame to himself: for as he is firmly persuaded, that this happens to him from Spite and Envy of his great Abilities, he only bewails his dear Country, where Wisdom is dethroned, and Folly prevails so much, that the worthiest and best of Subjects have no Opportunity to display their Talents: and hence the Fool is always better armed, than the Philosopher, against Accidents
and

and Misfortunes. Stoical Teachers exhort us to Patience, Submission, and a kind of Insensibility. They tell us Wisdom is a Shield, that defends us against Accidents, Dangers, and Delusions; and that those alone are happy, who go thus prudently guarded. This is their Tenour of Preaching. But if we desire them to shew us Examples of these happy wise Men; they can scarce produce an Instance, in all human Nature, that agrees with the Description; or of any one who remained insensible to Misfortunes, and died, as they pretend, with Joy, and Content.

Let us consider *Cicero*, let us consider *Seneca*; who have written with the greatest Strength upon these admirable Philosophical Qualities: we find one of them frequently betraying effeminate Weakness; and the other, thro' Fear, was frequently benumbed, and rendered speechless. They both endeavoured to procure Wealth and Honours; nor ever turned their Backs upon the World, till the World turned its Back upon them: and they were both ready to dance for Joy, when Matters again went prosperously. A Man may magnify his Insensibility to Pain, as much as he pleases; yet it is no better than Boasting. *Posidonius* might pretend that Pain was no Evil; yet his Sighs, Threats, and Distortions, betrayed he could feel. *Aria* might, with an Air of Dissimulation, cry *Pæte, non dolet*; *Pæte!* but with all her Grimace, she felt the Dagger: for no Man can, by Dissimulation, make his Back Proof against the Rod. But, allowing that some few might be found, who, by means of Philosophy,

have attained to this high Perfection ; yet these rare Creatures do not know whether they permanently possess such Qualities, or only imagine they do for the Time. On the other hand, Experience shews us an ample Catalogue of Fools, who behave so excellently on all trying Occasions, as to stem the Tide of Misfortunes, Censure, and Contempt, in a much happier Manner than Philosophers.

The Con-
duct of
Fools and
Wife.

My Meaning is, that Fools behave more happily for themselves, under Adversity, Contempt, and Removal from Office and Dignities, than sensible Men. For Fools believe, that whatever befalls them of this Kind, happens unjustly ; whilst they remain cloathed in a fancied Robe of Innocence. If Examples were necessary to confirm a Point of this Notoriety, we might pour in various Sorts of glaring Instances, from History and daily Experience : but the Point is clear without them.

It may be objected, that tho' Fools stand better in Adversity, than Philosophers ; yet they do not conduct themselves so well in Prosperity ; and therefore their Ignorance, or Stupidity, subjects them to great Contempt.

The
Hardships
of the
Wife.

But here the good Fortune of Fools assists them ; who are sensible to Praise, but have no Sense of Contempt. Those who think the State of Ridicule, and Disgrace, which Fools live in, is any Suffering to them, seem to understand little of History, or human Nature. Fools are so fortunate, that a certain Philosopher, who knew the World, being asked which he preferred,
Wisdom

Wisdom, or Riches, replied ; “ I should rather
“ chuse Wisdom, if I did not so commonly see
“ wise Men begging in the Anti-Chambers of
“ Fools.”

*Mallem me doctum, doctos nisi sæpe viderem
Nudos, Stultorum serpere vestibulis.*

If we cast our Eyes upon Kingdoms and Republics, take a Survey of the Philosophers and Fools therein, and compare their Conditions ; we shall find the intelligent Men of all Countries sailing betwixt Rocks and Shelves, that threaten Destruction ; whilst Fools enter full sail into the Harbour of Prosperity. So many Merits the wise Man has, so many Hindrances to his Promotion. The nearer he is to the Port, the more slowly he moves ; for all the Fools combine against Merit, and shut the Door of Honour and Profit against the Man, who is worthy to enter.

On the other hand, Fools meet with no Resistance, no Rub in the Way : they procure every Man’s Favour ; because they have no Talents, no Capacity, to awaken Jealousy or Suspicion ; and are carried, as it were upon the Shoulders of the People, to Honours and Dignities ; and put into Employments, to keep wise Men out. And hence some subtle People imitate the Fool ; and carefully conceal their Talents, when they endeavour to rise in Life. It is sometimes a crafty Policy, to appear as a Fool ; like *Sixtus* the Fifth, who counterfeited himself so decrepit and weak, as to be fit to be led ; and thus obtained the Papacy.

The Emperor *Claudius* preserved his Life, and came to the Throne, by this Kind of Folly : for he would not have been suffered to live to govern the *Roman* Empire, if he had shewn common Sense, under *Caligula* ; who hated and persecuted whatever wore the Name of Merit or Virtue. Thus they who are shielded with Folly, take large Strides to Preferment, and pass thro' the World without Hindrance ; whereas wise Men are checked and kept under, whilst Fools rise by their own Levity.

The Labours and Rewards of the Wise.

In Church History, we find the Fate of the Wise still harder. Men of Philosophical Abilities, Lovers of Truth, and diligent Enquirers after the Way to Salvation, have frequently been rewarded with Persecution, Banishment, Excommunication, Imprisonment, and Refusal of Burial ; nay, the Zeal of their Persecutors has sometimes sentenced them to eternal Damnation : whilst Men of slender Understandings have either turned their little Thoughts to such Points as might not disturb their Rest ; or to such as could not be fathomed by their shallow Capacities : yet their want of Ability has produced great Advantages ; and procured them the Reputation of eloquent, pious, peaceable, orthodox Souls. The Fruits which Fools reap, by such easy Means, are Promotions, Honours, Esteem, and all they can wish. A Fool may be beloved as long as he lives ; honoured, praised, and sometimes canonized after his Death.

If a Stoic, with Tranquility, and sweet Composure of Mind, can suffer Hatred, Defamation, Persecution, &c. I will gladly acknowledge him happy. But since Experience assures us, that few such Heroes exist, and that insuperable Fortitude of Mind is only to be found in those whom God has been pleased to bless with Qualities more than human; this high-flown Maxim of the Stoics has no solid Pretence to Truth among Men; however it may hold in superior Beings.

The Stoical Perfection not to be found in mere Men.

Some Philosophers indeed have opposed Misfortunes with Resolution, and reaped the Fruits of their Virtue: some Fools and Profligates have been subdued by Adversity, and lived under constant Distress. But I must insist upon it, that more Examples may be brought on the contrary Side; so as to strengthen the Argument, in point of Generality.

Folly excellently supplies the Place of Understanding. *Horace* declares, “ he would rather
“ be a Fool, if his Follies delighted him; or
“ he did not observe them; than be a wise
“ Man, and live uncomfortably.” If Fools are not happy in the Opinion of others, at least they are so in their own. Who can deny that *Don Quixote* was happy, when he imagined the whole World trembled at his Lance; and thought his Battle with the Windmill as great a Victory, as any of *Alexander's*?

Use of Folly.

XV.

Of History.

Uncertainty of early History.

THE Advantages of History are great ; but its Uncertainty lessens its Use. The most ancient History consists of Fictions. From the Creation to the Deluge, we have no more than is contained in Holy Writ ; which gives but a short Genealogy of Families. This Period of Time is, therefore, called the Dark Age. From the Deluge to the first Olympiad, we have scarce any Thing remaining but poetical Fables ; whence this Interval is termed the Poetical Age. The succeeding Times alone are called Historical. And tho' we here begin the *Æra* of true History ; yet, the Truth is so mixed and confounded with Fiction, that we find no satisfactory Accounts of Things.

The Assyrian Monarchy.

The History of the first, or *Assyrian* Monarchy, is so confused, and the Relations of Historians so different, that we perceive not the least Agreement among them, either in Point of Time, or the Names of the Kings ; so that after bestowing some Years upon this Study, we are just as wise as when we began. Authors long laboured to reconcile the contradictory Accounts of these Times ; settle the Chronology ; the Order and Succession of the Princes ; the Beginning, Increase, and Duration of this great Monarchy : and after they had exhausted their Strength, it comes

comes, at last, to be discovered, that there never was any such general Monarchy. The great Monarchs, from *Belus* to *Sardanapalus*, who were supposed to bridle the ancient World, thus vanish at once, or at best change into petty Princes. The *Assyrian* Monarchy, generally allowed to have continued above a thousand Years, appears a mere Fiction; because *Asia*, during that Time, was full of different Sovereign Princes, and independent Kingdoms; which no way agrees with Universal Monarchy. We also find a Succession of *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Israelitish* Kings; some whereof were magnificent and mighty. And it may be said, that *David*, King of *Israel*, was the greatest *Asiatic* King of his Time. Among the Kings of *Egypt*, *Sesostris* is said to have subdued all the East, as far as *India*. The ancient *Assyrian* Monarchy therefore vanishes; to the Disappointment of those who have spent so much Time and Labour upon it. Teachers should beware how they beat such an History of Facts into Youth, as never existed but in the Idea of falsifying Writers. The Fictions of *Ctesias* have been taken for real History; under which Shape it has been handed down to the present Time.

Numerous other Things, supposed to have happened in *Asia*, during the flourishing State of the *Assyrian* Empire, and circumstantially related as Facts, are of the same Stamp; insomuch that some have questioned, whether the *Trojan* War had any real Existence out of *Homer's* Brain. We cannot date the Beginning of the *Assyrian*
Empire

Empire earlier than from *Pul*, who lived near a thousand Years after *Pelo* or *Nimrod*, and is thought to have been the first Monarch. After the Time of *Pul* the *Assyrians* increased, and almost overspread the other Nations; and here we come to a more certain History, tho' we every where meet with great Confusion in it.

The Persian Monarchy.

Of the *Persian* Monarchy, founded by *Cyrus*, we have greater Certainty; because the Times are later: and yet, if the Reigns, as delivered by *Ctesias*, and supposed to be drawn from the *Persian* Monuments of Antiquity, be compared with the *Grecian* Accounts, they appear to be different Histories: for neither the Times, nor the Facts, nor the Names of Kings agree. What *Xenophon* relates of the Birth, Death, &c. of *Cyrus*, entirely contradicts what others relate thereof. The *Persian* History, wrote by the famous *Arabian*, *Mircond*, and supposed to be taken from the old *Persian* Monuments, has no manner of Agreement with the common Histories.

Greek History.

The ancient *Grecian* History is no more than a Collection of crude and monstrous Fables; so that we have no genuine Account of Things, till we come to the last Books of *Herodotus*; and even here we cannot take all for Truth. *Thucydides*, therefore, may be esteemed the first genuine *Historian*; and it is a great Pity that his excellent Writings should contain no more than a Part of the *Peloponnesian* War, which happened, in his own Time, betwixt the Cities of *Greece*. Both this History, and that of *Xenophon*, contain
so

so many feigned Speeches, as make near one third Part of their Works. What is here said of the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, and *Grecian* History, may likewise be understood of the ancient *Roman*, and of that of later Nations; the Accounts of the Origins and earliest Times whereof, contain nothing but monstrous Fables.

The History of the middle Age is so far better, ^{History} as it gives us the Order and Succession of Rulers; ^{of the middle} tho' this indeed is its greatest Excellence: for ^{Age.} we find little else in it, besides a Chain of absurd Wonders and Miracles. As most of these Writers were Monks, and Creatures of the Popes, there is no trusting to the Characters they give us of Princes.

Since the Reformation, and the Restoration ^{History} of Learning, we have had better Histories, both ^{since the} for Matter and Style; tho' indeed their Number ^{Reformation.} is small. Most of the modern Historians have the same Failings with the ancient, or even greater; for Truth and Integrity are more rare among them, than among the Ancients. It is a great Blot in Christian Historians, to be guilty of a Crime, which Writers of the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories were free from; *viz.* that of praising and condemning the Virtues and Vices of Princes, not according to Reality, but the religious Sects they were of. Christian Writers should distinguish themselves from others by Truth. Integrity and Justice are Signs of the Excellency of the Christian Religion: whereas, most of the Christian Writers have remarked no Vices in the Orthodox, and no Virtues in the Heterodox Princes.

ces. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in two succeeding Emperors.

Partiality
of History.

Constantius, Son to *Constantine* the Great, bears a tolerably good Character among the Writers of his Time ; tho' he may really be reckoned as bad as the worst of the *Roman* Emperors, both for Folly and Cruelty. His Folly appears by the Regulation of the Court, after his Decease ; when, among other Things, there were found near a thousand Court-Barbers ; who all acted as Privy Counsellors. His Cruelty, in some Particulars, exceeded that of the greatest Tyrants ; for he kept certain Spies, whose Office it was to enquire what Dreams People had ; and he condemned all those to Death, who had dreamt any thing against the Court. One of these Spies was a *Persian*, by Name *Mercurius*, who bore the Title of the *Earl of Dreams*. This struck such a Terror into the People, that none of them durst confess their Dreams, or even acknowledge they had slept.

On the other hand, the Emperor *Julian*, who succeeded *Constantius*, excelled almost all his Predecessors in Humanity, Courage, Modesty, and Understanding ; yet was painted, by his Historians, as a Monster of Vice, because he did not favour the Christians.

Licensing
of Books
corrupts
History.

The public licensing of Books, introduced into different Countries, has also been a Cause why Things are not described as they happened, or were transacted, but published and handed down as the Government or Ruling Powers were pleased to direct ; whence a History has often
nothing

nothing to recommend it but the dead Style : the Soul of the Work, the Truth, being separated from it. And hence we generally find all licensed or authorized Histories contain little more than Encomium, and meagre Chronicles, of which the authorizing *Imprimatur* is an almost infallible Sign. In Fact, the few good Histories published in these later Times, have been the Productions of Countries, where no Licensing of Books is practised.

Many other Things, besides the Public Authority of Licensing, may contribute to the corrupting and spoiling of History. A History may be spoiled by immoderate Zeal, or Fury for one's Country ; Hope of Reward ; Orthodoxy ; Faction ; Party ; Hatred ; Fear, and other Causes, capable of perverting, disguising, or suppressing the Truth. A *Tory* relates a Matter of Fact very differently from a *Whig* ; and a History wrote by a *Guelf*, differs from a History of the same Time by a *Gibelline*. Histories generally wear the Complexion of the Writer, and the Country wherein they were written. Hence we find great Difficulty in discovering the Truth, and are obliged to confront and compare contradictory Historians with one another, in order to gain Light and proper Information. We are even obliged to do the same, with the different Accounts of a Battle, a Siege, &c. and must read the Relations of both Sides, and observe their Contradictions, and Agreements, to find the Medium, as near as possible, before we can arrive at the Truth of a single Fact.

Other
Causes of
corrupt
History.

But

But besides these Reasons, what renders the Histories of our Times so imperfect, is, that every Man now sets up for an Historian; and writes Books for his own Advantage, instead of the Reader's: which, of late, is become a Trade. And hence proceeds that Deluge of Histories which now overspreads *Europe*; consisting of large Volumes of Compilations, and little ones of Scraps and Bits, all served up over and over again; only new vamped, disguised, and masqueraded to the Taste and Sale of the Times.

Such are the Failings and Misfortunes attending the noble Study of History; which, in itself, I take to be the most useful Kind of Reading, next to Divinity; and what should be recommended to all; but especially to Persons in high Stations and public Characters. For, I have not enumerated its Failings in order to discredit or disparage History; but only to shew with what Caution it ought to be read; and what Patience and Labour it requires, to reap the real Advantage of it. Most Histories are like Mines, wherein Treasure lies buried, if a Man has but Patience and Diligence to search for it.

The Materials required for good History.

No modern Writers have hitherto equalled the *English* and *French* Historians; not because other Nations have wanted able Writers, so much as proper Materials; by which I mean such curious Memoirs, Journals, and particular Accounts, as Ministers and Generals have themselves written and published, from Time to Time. Of this Kind of Writings, there is Plenty in *France*; and they greatly contribute to the Service, Use, and

and Ornament of History. To be convinced hereof, we need only read the History of *Lewis XIII.* written by *le Vassor* : for this copious History is nothing but a Chain of such Memoirs ; which not only fully set forth the Turns and Transactions of those Times, but also shew the true and secret Causes of them. Here we find Cabals, Court-Intrigues, &c. opened and explained, as the Wheels that drive the whole Machine. Here we find the Characters of Generals, Ministers, and Courtiers ; which renders the History as useful as it is entertaining. But these kind of Memoirs are scanty in other Countries ; where the Materials found for History chiefly consist of public Acts, Letters, Manifestos, Treaties, Pamphlets, &c. which tho' very useful in History, yet of themselves, render it dry, barren, and unenterprising. For, thus indeed we see that Things were done, but not how they were brought about : whereas the greatest Revolutions sometimes spring from small Causes, not to be found in Archives or public Acts, but merely in such Memoirs as were written by the Persons concerned in the Transactions they relate ; and wherein they themselves acted as Parties. If we may credit *Brantorie*, one of the greatest Warlike Expeditions of these modern Times, was caused by an Amour. The Interest of a Minister, the Ambition of a Favourite, Love and Gallantry, have frequently thrown whole Countries into Flames, and proved the real Causes of War ; very different from those assigned in Manifestos, Instructions,

Instructions, and Instruments, preserved in the Archives of Princes.

For want of such Memoirs, certain Authors, like the Writers of News, are obliged to fill up their Histories with trivial Accounts; which give the Reader an Aversion to this useful Study. And hence the Histories of the Northern Countries, where it has never been the Custom for People to write Memoirs of their own Transactions, or the Histories of their own Times, consist chiefly of such Stuff as we find in the public Prints; and are only the Skeleton of History. I wish this may not come to be the Case even in *France* and *England*; where, at present, we hear of no *Xenophons*, no *Thucydides's*, no *Cæsars*, or Generals who write their own Transactions, for the Use and Instruction of Posterity. We find no Memoirs now published in *France*, like those in the last Age; no *Memoirs de Fleury*, *de Villars*, *de Vendôme*, *de Berwick*, &c. Great Generals and Statesmen trouble themselves no longer with Writing; but leave that Drudgery to lower People; and therefore future History must be of a low Nature.

In *England* we still have some Hopes of tolerable History; for tho' the *English* Ministers and Generals seldom write their own Memoirs; yet every Thing is, one way or other, printed, published, or known; even up to Parliamentary Transactions; which in other Countries are held as Mysteries of State, not to be whispered without-Doors. And by this Means, the Defect of Memoirs may, in some Measure, be supplied;
and

and Posterity be furnished with *English* Histories worth their Reading; if we had suitable Writers.

It is a great Failing in several Antiquarians and Historians, to stretch the Antiquity of their own Kingdoms too far back, and to speak too pompously of the Deeds of their Ancestors. This is Vanity, and idle Pretence. The Northern Antiquarians are so extravagant herein, as to be quite ridiculous. They pretend that every Thing was originally *Gothic*, and that whatever happened in ancient Times, happened in the North; so that they make *Noah's* Ark to have rested upon *Doverfield*; and the Fruit of the forbidden Tree to have been *Swedish* Apples. It is to be hoped, that future Writers will be less arrogant; and abide by nothing that is not clear and certain. No Man doubts of the Antiquity of the Northern Kingdoms, and of the great Deeds of the *Goths*; but the indulging of Conjectures may render a plain Thing uncertain. The *Jews* find Colonies of the Ten Tribes of *Israel*, in all the Quarters of the World, even in *America*. And when they assure us that *Dan*, one of the Sons of *Jacob*, was the first King of *Denmark*, the *Danes* are fairly beat in their own Bow.

Many suppose, that the Marrow of History is contained in the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians; and that *Thucydides*, and the *Roman* Writers who followed his Example, are perfect in Point of Beauty, Style, and Integrity. Indeed, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, &c. among the

Vanity of
Histo-
rians.

The
Greek
and Ro-
man Hi-
story.

Greeks; and *Sallust*, *Cæsar*, *Livy*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, &c. among the *Romans*, were Men highly distinguished both in Rank and Learning for in those Times, Persons of that Sort commonly undertook the Writing of History; but in ours, Matters are altered, and History become a Trade, carried on by Hirelings, People of low Fortunes, Birth, and Abilities; whence their Histories are like themselves, mean and fordid.

The By-
zantine
History.

Most of the later *Greeks*, who wrote the History of the Eastern Empire, were Men of high Rank and Dignity: Patriarchs, Princes, Princesses, and Emperors were concerned in it; yet these can by no means be compared with the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, either as to Matter or Style. Their Matter is Party, and turns upon Praise or Blame. In Point of Style, no History is more absurd than the *Byzantine*: for, excepting some few, as *Procopius*, *Cantacuzenus*, and *Chalcondy*, the whole of it resembles Poetry more than Prose; and seems wrote for singing rather than reading. Their common Phraseology is Bombast: thus, instead of saying a Man died, they say “he descended to the Place from whence no Person ever yet returned;” and instead of “he knew nothing,” they say, “it was as difficult for him to know or speak, as it is easy for God to tell how many Drops of Water are contained in the Sea.” So that nothing but Verse is wanting to turn this History into Poetry.

It

It is to be lamented that the most momentous Histories, to us *Europeans*, should be the worst written of any; and cannot be perused without Disgust: whilst many of the less necessary, and less useful Sort, are wrote with great Judgment and Elegance. The *Greek* and *Roman* Histories are diligently laboured, and accurately wrote; but it is in the Histories of the middle Age, that we must seek for the Origins of the present *European* Kingdoms and States; because nearly all their Foundations were laid in those Times. On the other hand, the reading of the *Roman* and *Greek* History is not only curious, but useful, for the Morality derivable from it.

Use of
the Greek
and Ro-
man Hi-
story.

XVI.

Ancient and Modern Times compared.

AMONG many curious Questions that deserve discussion, it may be worth enquiring, whether the World grows better or worse. If we judge from common Opinion, this Question is soon decided; because Men generally determine in Favour of the old World; and side with the Poets, who give us pleasing Descriptions of the Golden Age, and the Reign of *Saturn*. But as it is unsafe to rely upon general Opinions, and poetical Fictions; we must

How to
know
whether
the
World
improves.

seek for Examples, Particulars, and Illustrations from History, to ground a true Judgment upon:

Govern-
ment
and Penal
Laws an-
cient.

Before States or Societies were founded, and Laws enacted, Men lived in, what is called, a State of Nature; of which we can say very little; because the most ancient Histories are here dark, imperfect, and full of Fable and Fiction. It is, however, manifest, that Sin and Wickedness prevailed in this State, to such a Degree, that Men gave up their best Jewel, their Liberty, for the common Security; formed Societies, and submitted to Rule and Dominion. Such a Remedy shews the Disease was great; and that Mankind then suffered, as it were, the Loss of a Limb, to preserve the Body.

The Poets and Antiquarians, may give us what Descriptions they please of the Golden Times, and the Reign of the Shepherds; yet the early founding of Societies, the Use of Penal-Laws, Prisons, and the Gallows, plainly prove the ancient State of Mankind was not so simple; equitable, and pure, as these Gentlemen pretend. We also find, that such a supposed natural State was of no long Duration; for Societies and Kingdoms were founded soon after the Flood.

Whence
the World
is unjustly
supposed
to grow
worse.

As soon as we have any certain Knowledge from History, we find that the World had its good and bad Times, its Ebbs and Flows; and that it always was wicked, tho' the Scene has frequently changed: for one Kind of Corruption, Vice, or Wickedness, no sooner disappeared, than another succeeded.

The

The severe Judgments passed upon later Times, seem owing to Men's not considering the World in the Whole, but only in particular Parts; and examining certain Countries instead of the Earth in general. When we survey Kingdoms and Republics singly, most of them appear to have been found and healthy at first; and to have grown sickly, weak, and infirm, as they advanced in Years; till at length they became so degenerate and corrupt, that Folly, Vice, and Wickedness, getting the upper hand, compleated their Ruin. This particular Idea of a Country, Men have unwarily transferred to the World in general; and make the whole Globe to have its Youth, its Manhood, and lastly its old Age, which they suppose must needs be its weakest and wickedest State.

That this Opinion is taken up slightly, appears upon laying the entire History of the World before us: where we see that every Kingdom and Republic is commonly good at its original Foundation; each Founder making his Honour consist in supporting and preserving the Work of his own Hands. For Founders, Inventors, Ministers, and Managers, are always inclined to shew their best Skill and Industry at first. But, as out of a sick and fallen Kingdom, new and sound Republics may arise; and fresh vigorous Kingdoms out of weak and shattered Republics; this shews us that good Laws and Regulations languish with Time, and grow, as it were, superannuated; and that they likewise

K 3

may

may, with Time, be recruited, invigorated, and recovered to their former Strength ; or sometimes raised to a greater.

Virtues
and Vices
rise and
set.

Arts and
Sciences
travel.

Numerous Examples in History prove, that Societies and Governments have one while been Models of Virtue ; at another infamous for Vice ; and then again, more virtuous than before ; as People in great and desperate Illnesses, sometimes not only recover their former Health, but acquire a better Constitution for the future. We likewise see that when Virtue sets in one Country, it rises in another. *Italy* and *Greece* were anciently conspicuous for Valour and Virtue ; but the present Inhabitants of those Countries are as low, and contemptible, as their Predecessors were heroical and philosophical. Countries, where anciently no Spark of Morality appeared, now shine forth the Glory and Ornament of the Earth. By comparing ancient with modern *Russia*, we have a glaring Instance of this Truth. And, possibly, *Turkey*, which we at present look upon as a kind of *Barbary*, may hereafter become the Seat of the Muses ; and our Posterity travel to *Constantinople*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, or *Algier*, to improve in the polite Arts, and Sciences. We cannot argue for the Corruption of the World in general, from the Fall or Decay of particular States. Virtues and Vices remain the same Things ; tho', like Humours in the Body, they sometimes seat themselves in one Part, sometimes in another ; so as to cause different nominal Diseases.

The severe Censures usually passed upon the modern World, are also encouraged by the daily Investives of old Grumblers; and Men of sour Tempers; who, like Hypochondriacs, imagine the World bewitched, because their own Humours are corrupted: and attribute that to others which only exists in themselves. We frequently hear aged, infirm, snarlish, and disappointed Men praise the Excellence of former Times, and blame the present. All that can fairly be said upon the Matter is, that the World remains nearly the same; so that if a Patriarch were to rise again, he would find the same Vices now reigning, as prevailed in his Days; tho' the Names and Manner of them may indeed be altered. Murder, Adultery, War, Injustice, &c. prevail among us in as high a Degree as they did then; only we practise them after a different Fashion. The Facts are the same, but their Form is altered: and here lies the principal Difference betwixt the old World and the new.

The
World in
the whole
nearly the
same.

Vices
how far
the same.

The Ancients committed Murder, as well as the present Generation. *Cain* murdered his Brother, soon after the Creation. But anciently they went directly to the Point; whereas the modern World is more subtle, refined, and delicate in their Procedure, and murder politely. It might seem as if *Joab* introduced the genteel Method of murdering; for he first saluted, then stabbed *Abner*: and in this he has been followed by the succeeding Ages, down to the present; where it has been fashionable to murder under the Colour of Friendship.

Murder.

The Ancients made as unjust Wars as the Moderns; the Difference consisting in the Manner of conducting them. The Ancients bluntly entered upon their unjust Wars, without Pretext, Preamble, or Colour assigned; but the politer Moderns first give due Notice by Manifesto; protest their own Innocence, and shew the Necessity which, against their Will, compels them to Arms. Nay we sometimes beg the Divine Permission to ravage a Country. This appears by the Days set apart to implore Success to our Arms, and the numerous modern Declarations of War, wherein the Almighty is called to witness, that Force is used unwillingly; and that the contending Powers are heartily sorry they are obliged to disturb the public Peace. If *Alexander* the Great, had thus called *Jupiter* to witness, how unwilling his pacific Temper was to disturb the Peace of the World; and declared his hearty Sorrow to be forced to take up Arms against his Brother *Darius*; what would the Philosophers of those Times, what would *Aristotle* have thought of such a Manifesto?

The Ancients judging it dishonourable, and unbecoming, to fall upon the Enemy unprepared; gave Notice before they offered Battle; and even appointed the Time and Place for Decision. This Practice is despised by modern Leaders; who hold it Folly to give the Enemy Notice of an Attack; endeavour to steal an Opportunity, and fall on unexpectedly, to render the Victory secure. This modern Inversion of the ancient Order of War, does not
alter

alter the Thing, but the Manner. Indeed we Moderns censure not the Vice and Wickedness, so much as the Customs and Fashions, of the Ancients. It may be prophesied, that, if the World continue, the old Fashions will come into Play again; for Fashion is changeable, catching and spreading.

It must be said, to the Honour of the Moderns, that they have abolished the ancient, barbarous Custom, of waging War, practised even by the most civilized Nations, viz. of burning, wasting, and destroying all that they found in the Enemy's Country; putting Men, Women, and frequently Children, to the Sword. This shocking Practice continued till the last Century; when Men first began to carry on War in a more humane and honourable Manner.

Incontinency reigned as much in ancient, as Incontinency. it does in modern Times; tho' the delicate Nymphs of Antiquity would turn pale upon hearing a Man's name. This indeed was observed to be Matter of Form; for the Number of obliging Women was as great with them, as with us. The subtle Virgins in former Times, were like certain modern Governors, who do not surrender till some Shots have been exchanged. But the Matter is much the same, whether a young Lady gives herself up at once, or stands a formal Siege; for this is merely a Circumstance: and Circumstances, make the greatest Difference betwixt the present and ancient Times. The modern Ladies surrender quick, in comparison of ancient Times; wherein the Virgins observed a
kind

kind of Delicacy and Decorum ; and proceeded, in Love, by formal Steps and Rules.

Laws.

The modern Municipal Laws are more agreeable to good Sense, and the Reason of Things, than the ancient. We may value the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Laws as much as we please ; they contain several strange and monstrous Ordinances. Whoever examines the ancient Northern Laws, will likewise find many that are absurd, weak, and even wicked ; as the Laws of Duelling ; the Ordeal ; Brothels ; Composition for Sacrilege, Adultery, Murder, and other heinous Crimes : so that, in respect of Laws, we must acknowledge the World is improved ; tho' it still remains a Question, whether the Moderns keep their better Laws, stricter than the Ancients did their worse.

Law-Suits.

Law-Suits appear more tedious among the Moderns, than among the Ancients. Our Forefathers did as much Business in one Day, by a single Decision, as modern Judges do in Years. If the Study of Law had flourished as much in old Times as it does in the new ; or if the ancient World had been provided with such Swarms of able Lawyers as we, their Law-Suits would have been as numerous, and spun out to as handsome Lengths as at present : for the Ancients were as revengeful as the Moderns. I question whether all *Europe* could now be brought into an Alliance for carrying a War into *Asia*, in order to revenge the single Crime of Adultery. But it must be owned, that we quarrel about Trifles ; especially of the Theological Sort ; which the Ancients were not concerned about : for Divinity

vinity was not yet reduced into Creeds, enjoined by public Authority. They had more Belief, but fewer Articles of Faith than the Moderns.

Promises were held more sacred among the *Contracts*, Ancients than among us; their bare Affirmation, or Shake by the Hand, was a stronger Obligation than our Oaths, or legal Contracts. The Ancients had less Diffimulation than the Moderns, and could pretty well distinguish an honest Man from a Villain. At present, it is the Fashion to go masked, cover Deceit with a Robe of Honour, and Wickedness with the Cloak of Religion.

State, Pomp, and Show, have prevailed so much in later Times, especially among the middling People, that the different Orders of Men cannot be distinguished by their Attire or Equipage. Titles are so multiplied in *Europe*, that if this Practice continue, those of Lord, King, and Emperor, will lose of their Value; and render it necessary for *European* Princes, to borrow the higher Titles of *Eastern* Potentates. Magnificence,

The Love of Liberty, and Zeal for the public Good, was greater in ancient Times than at present. What heroical, and almost incredible, Things were performed by the Ancients from this Principle? But, with us Moderns, it is the Fashion to do little for the Public; and as much as we can for ourselves. Few among us are such Patriots, to sacrifice our Persons, our Children, our Ease, or even our Money, for the public Advantage, or Honour of our Country. Patriotism.

Country. This generous Ambition has dwindled and decayed with Time; and Self-love, narrow Pride, and sordid Principles reign in its Stead, to such a Degree, that the Magnificence and Honour of a Gentleman, now consist in getting Precedency, and Posts of Renown. Possibly, the old, simple World, might have entertained no high Opinion of this reigning modern Character.

Rioting
lessened.

The modern World has, however, corrected many Vices that predominated in the old; particularly Drunkenness, Gluttony, Brawls, and Riot at Weddings, and Family Rejoicings, &c. Tea, Chocolate, Cards, and Snuff, are innocent Regales, upon these Occasions; and have rendered the Moderns much more sober than the Ancients: for we do not now force Men to drink above Measure. Quarrels, and Disturbances in Company, are less frequent, than formerly: and this good Alteration is owing to Sobriety, and good Manners.

Plays.

The ancientest Comedies were coarse, obscene, and scandalous; but the Moderns have corrected these Faults, and rendered Plays more chaste; so that whoever compares the ancient Comedies and Satyrs with the modern, may be delighted to find the old gross and shameless Dialogue, changed, in the last and present Century, for elegant and ingenious Morality.

Education.

The Education of Youth may appear to have been commonly bad in ancient Times; when Schoolmasters acted more like Tormentors than Teachers. The Ancients, also, had a false and monstrous

monstrous Principle in respect of Children, whom they gave up not only for the Good of the Public, but even the private Advantage of Families. Princes and Governors, in those Times, divided their Territories among their Children; whereby many powerful and flourishing Kingdoms, were reduced to a miserable State. The numerous tragical Scenes that happened from such unseasonable Care about Provisions for Children, had not Force sufficient to regulate or restrain this destructive Practice: for the Custom of dividing the Patrimony among Children, was every where continued down to the last Century; when the Right of Primogeniture, or *Jus Majoratus*, was first introduced into most Countries.

In Poetry and Oratory, the Moderns are allowed to have fallen short of the Ancients; but it is carrying the Matter too far, to say, that the Moderns can never arrive at the ancient Perfection. As the modern Trees, according to an ingenious Author, are as large as the ancient; so the modern Nations may produce as great Men as *Homer* and *Demosthenes*: tho' indeed it has been justly alledged, that the present Characters, and reigning Manners of *Europe*, scarce afford Matter for a noble Heroic Poem, or a proper Occasion for Oratory.

We must acknowledge that the Sciences, and Learning in general, flourish more at present, than anciently: tho' the old World is not to be censured for this; especially as the Ancients prepared the Way to many useful Discoveries; and Improvements

Poetry,
Oratory,
and Hi-
story.

The Sci-
ences.

provements, made by the Moderns. It is easy to improve upon Things already begun. The Perfection of the Sciences is a natural Effect of Time, and the ripening Age of the World. Those who hold the present Arts and Sciences to be greater, and better founded, than the ancient, may be answered as *Clitus* answered *Alexander*: “ ’Tis true you have conquered, but it “ was with your Father’s Soldiers.” But allowing the Moderns to understand more Subjects than the Ancients; yet we also know more of the useless Sort: for it may still be said, of our Times, as *Cleanthes* said of his own; “ the Ancients studied Things, but the Moderns principally Words.”

Some are of Opinion, that the Ancients knew many great Sciences, which we have no Notion of. Indeed, if what is related of *Democritus* be true; that he could tell, at first Sight, whether a young Lady had lost her Virginity; we must acknowledge he had the Advantage of our modern Philosophers: at the same time, it is good Luck for our young Ladies, that the present Doctors are not so skilful.

Superstition.

Superstition was, in general, much greater among the Ancients, than among us: for, in our Times, we hear very little of such Wonders, Prodigies, and Miracles, as were common among them. Ghosts and Witches, at present, rarely make their Appearance. A better Natural Philosophy has laid these Spirits, and quieted our Church-Yards; where the Ghosts of the Deceased used to frolic and gambol, like Rats in a Cellar.

But,

But, possibly, we of the present Age, may be tending to the opposite Extream; and should take Care lest, by hastily running from Superstition, we fall not at once into Scepticism and Irreligion.

This, and more, might be pleaded, for and against the ancient and modern World. If the Cause should be brought to the Bar, the Judge might have some Doubt in passing his Sentence. Were I an Arbitrator; I should award both Parties to pay their own Costs.



S E C T. II.

Of Intercourse and Business.

I.

Of Errors in Judgment.

Errors
how to be
corrected.

THE more immediate Design of these little Essays, is to lay open the Errors we daily commit, by taking false Appearances for true; and looking upon gross Vices as great Virtues; whence it happens, that wrong Education passes for right; sophistical Learning for real; Follies and Fopperies for Knowledge and Science; Avarice for Œconomy; Extravagancy for Generosity; Place-hunting for Patriotism; Treachery and Deceit for Prudence and Wisdom; Folly for Honesty; Fraud for Charity; Tyranny for Justice; bad Laws for good; Malice and Persecution for Zeal and Religion; &c. &c. &c. It is a melancholy

choly Reflection, that these pernicious Errors should be committed not only by the Vulgar; but even by those who should be Paterns to the People.

Want of Instruction, and taking too little By In-
struction.
Care to know ourselves, and the World we inhabit, is the general Source of this Misfortune; which ought to be remedied, if possible. But here we must proceed cautiously; for there is a false Kind of Zeal, arising from Spleen, Disappointment, Selfish-Views, or distempered Juices of the Body; which may lead us wrong, and ought to be previously corrected, by noting and considering our own respective Tempers and Constitutions. Let us observe, whether our Zeal be the same one Day as another; whether it be constant and uniform, in Prosperity and Affliction, Success and Disappointment. Some exclaim against Errors and Vices in a Morning, who have nothing to reproach the World with in an Evening; and many a stinging Speech in Public owes its Origin to private Chagrin, rather than Zeal for the Government. A Master finds his Scholars more or less docile, according as he is better or worse provided for. We all take a well directed Zeal for the Motive of our Actions; whilst none of us know ourselves. For if we kept a strict Register of our Affections, we should not so easily mistake one Passion for another; nor look upon our own hideous Vices as so many Virtues. Experience shews, that some Bigots have been cured of their Zeal by Evacu-
And Re-
flection.
ations. Such Zealots, before their Cure, see Ob-
L jects

jects larger than the Life. An over-zealous Patriot, like a Man in a Phrenzy, sees frightful Spectres, which immediately vanish upon his being made easy. "What a strange World we live in!" cry some, who themselves are the strangest Animals in it.

The Vicious unsuccessful in correcting Vice.

What is more absurd, than to hear a Drunkard exclaim against Drunkenness; a Miser against Covetousness; a Prodigal against Extravagance? &c. and yet we see daily Instances of this. We frequently hear Men reprove the very Faults which themselves commit. Their Discourses, indeed, may be well adapted; as most Men deserve Reproof; but when such Censures come to be analysed, their Sense amounts to this. "Ye gross Sinners, repent; and follow not my Example." If an *Aristides* preach against Injustice, an *Epiſtetus* against Anger, a *Diogenes* against Pleasure; they speak with Dignity and Propriety: their Discourses affect us, because their Lives agree with their Doctrines; whence we may believe their Zeal to be true. When *Diogenes* appeared at *Athens* with his Lanthorn, seeking for a Man; whilst Pleasure and Vanity had taken Possession of the City; such a Behaviour had a just Foundation; because he renounced Pleasures, and led an austere Life. But if a Gentleman with a splendid Equipage, far above his Fortune, should set about converting his Neighbours to Frugality; he might chance to make a piteous Figure. His Undertaking might pass for Madness, rather than Zeal. If such a Person, in the midst of his Career, could see

see himself, he would find he was acting a Farce ; and wonder how he could set up for a Reformer. This monstrous Behaviour in Man, arises from a Want of knowing himself. I take not upon me the Character of a Censor. My Design is to search after Truth, and improve Morality. I would act the Part of a Pilot, who stands with the Line in his Hand, to fathom the Depth ; and mark the Rocks, that others may sail with the greater Safety.

I observe that great Errors still prevail in the World ; and presume one Reason is, because Writers deal more in Words than Things ; describe Virtues and Vices like Orators ; study the Taste of the Times ; and rather endeavour to divert and amuse, than instruct, improve, and reform Mankind. Whilst Writers remain determined to follow such perverted Rules ; and instead of shewing the Foundations of genuine Morality, set bad Examples in frothy Discourses, the Bulk of Mankind will remain in their Ignorance ; and Sin lie at the Door of Writers.

The Cause of Error in Judgment.

Want of Instruction.

Bad Moralists produce no better Effects than bad Preachers ; who admonish Christians of their Duty in general ; and exhort them to practise it ; but neglect to inculcate the principal Rules of Life : so that the Hearers hence become no wiser, nor live after a better Manner than they did. Admonition, indeed, should be used ; but Instruction is more essential. Admonitions are of Use ; but to be always repeating the same Things, cannot be necessary.

In most of the Books of Morality lately published, we find great Store of Admonitions, Exhortations to Virtue, and Dehortations from Vice; but these Books do not teach us wherein particular Vices consist; how they should be distinguished; from what Origin they proceed; and how they are to be avoided by every Man in his respective Station; so as to promote the general Welfare. Few Writers disclose the Source of Errors, so frequently committed to the Hurt of Society; nor seem to know that they chiefly arise from Ignorance. People are hurried, by Shoals, into Vice, merely thro' Ignorance: and it is impossible for them to act right, till they are taught what is Right and Wrong in Particulars. From Ignorance it is, that Men make false Judgments one of another. Thus one Man shall be praised for his Patience, because he is not by Nature prone to Anger; and another be condemned for his Warmth, because he happens to have much Bile in his Constitution.

The Sick
how to be
judged of.

Of all the Miseries to which Mankind are subject, there is none greater than Sicknefs. When the Body becomes disordered, the Mind participates; and when the Mind suffers, it relishes no Comforts. Who can find Delight in the best Things of this World, if the Mind is disordered, and loaths them?

All chronical Illnesses do not equally affect the Mind; but differently, according to the Nature of the Disease, and the Parts of the Body it seizes. Humours falling upon the Bowels, affect us more than when they fall upon the Hands

or Feet : and hence an Hypochondriac, the Seat of whose Disorder may be the Stomach or Spleen, grows more impatient under his Illness, than one who has only the Gout in his Feet : for tho' the Humour may be the same in both, yet it lies nearer the Vitals of the one than the other.

This Difference is not usually attended to. Hypochondriacs. People are apt to censure one Sort of sick Complainants, and commend another ; equally misplacing both their Blame and Praise. Sick Persons change their Tempers, as the Seat of the Disease alters. And tho' Men see daily Instances of this, they do not reflect, but praise or blame the Sick capriciously. Hence a miserable Melancholic shall labour under a double Disease ; the internal one of his own bad Feelings, and the external Torment of Hatred and Reproach : for some People will not allow such a Sufferer to have any Disease at all ; but contemptuously call it Whim, Vapours, Sullenness, &c. Such a perverted Judgment is cruel. We readily excuse Paralytics from Labour ; and shall we be angry with an Hypochondriac ; for not being chearful in Company ? Must we stigmatize such an unfortunate Person as peevish, positive, and unfit for Society ? His Disorder may no more suffer him to be merry, than the Gout will suffer another to dance. The advising a Melancholic to be chearful, is like bidding a Coward be courageous, or a Dwarf be taller.

Many attribute that to the Will, which arises from want of Power ; and condemn that in one Person, which they commend in another. Sple-
 Men's Failings to be distinguished.
 netic ed.

netic Men are indeed unpleasing Company ; not to be frequented by those who seek for nothing but Entertainment. What I condemn is, the blaming of our Neighbour for an Infirmary, or Temper of Mind, which he cannot help ; and thereby loading him with an additional Misfortune. It is one Thing to avoid, but another to hate and accuse. A Master may think proper to hire a lame or deformed Servant ; but to hate and reproach him for his Imperfection is inhuman : yet we daily see this kind of Behaviour ; whilst Men look upon Things superficially, and do not examine into their Causes.

It may appear astonishing, after so many Volumes of Morality as have been wrote, and still continue to be published, that not only the Unlearned, but even the Learned should remain rivetted to numerous Errors ; and that we should take those Things for Effects of Chöice or Free-Will, which arise from Diseases, or Infirmities, over-ruling the Will. We should, doubtless, make the same Allowances for Hypochondriacs, as for Men in Fevers : the Reveries in both are equally excusable ; as being equally involuntary.

Tractable
and stiff
Tempers.

I am not apologizing for Moroseness, or strengthening the Willfull in their Ways. I look upon ill-Nature as a Failing, but not arising from free Will ; since no Man can find a Pleasure in making himself odious : this being contrary to the natural Appetite of Man. I could wish the Morose would do all in their Power to conquer their Weakness ; and that their Censurers would look upon all Failings, arising from Men's natural Constitutions,

Constitutions, in the best Light; especially since intractable Men have usually honest Minds. Indeed, Honesty and true Honour are commonly joined with Stiffness of Temper; which bears not the least Touch of Reproach; and seldom errs above once: whereas, a placid, easy Man, whom nothing offends, readily slides from one gross Failing into another. We should beware of the placid Man. He who can coolly take a Reproach, as some People do a Box on the Ear, will be apt to offend again. And, if we search into History, we shall find, that such Men prove as noxious in Society, as the passionate and peevish are disagreeable in Company.

II.

Of Reality and Appearance.

THE Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, is said to have pronounced, that “the *French* appear foolish, but are wise; that the *Spaniards* appear wise, but are foolish; and that the *Italians* appear wise, and are so.” This Judgment I do not take upon me to subscribe; especially with regard to the *Spaniards*; tho’ there may be weak People among them, who appear wise by means of an affected Gravity.

Apparent
and real
Wisdom.

Sometimes, indeed, Gravity is revered; as a Fool may pass for a Philosopher under an assumed Deportment, that covers Folly: but if we slip the wise Cloak aside, and view the Man in

his Actions ; our Esteem changes to Contempt. What is more ridiculous than an Ape robed like a Judge ? A Merry-Andrew by Profession, affords but slender Diversion ; because he personates a Character different from his own. The Spectators, who are deceived by him, deserve to be laughed at more than the Deceiver. I am better entertained at the Sight of a young *Portuguese*, with his Spectacles ; because here I see a Boy affecting the old Man. If a borrowed Gravity suit not the Actor, it becomes truly ridiculous.

Ridiculous
Gravity.

An assumed Gravity may indeed, for a time, procure the Reputation of Sense ; as a Beggar in Brocade, may pass for a rich Man. A reserved Behaviour, arising from Ignorance, often passes for Wisdom : as many by a stupid Silence, have passed for Learned. In the Account of *Moliere's* Life, we find, that as he once crossed the *Seine*, along with his Company of Comedians ; a learned Debate arose among the principal Actors. In the Heat of the Dispute, they frequently appealed to a Monk, who happened to be in the Boat. The Monk had a venerable Aspect ; and held his Tongue : whence they thought, that by nodding his Head, and wrinkling his Brow, he either approved or disapproved of their Arguments. This reserved Gravity so heightened their Opinion, that they looked upon him as too acute a Philosopher, to engage in the Dispute. Their Esteem continued till the Boat landed ; when they saw the Monk take up his Wallet, and throw it across his Shoulders ; by which they found he

was

was only a Lay-Brother, whose Office is that of a Carrier, to fetch in Provisions for the Cloister.

Pliny relates of *Regulus*, that he usually besmeared his Eyes with an Ointment, to make the People believe he was almost blind by Reading. And tho' this Imposition gained him great Reputation among the Herd, who attributed that Appearance of his Eyes, to hard Study; yet it procured him the Contempt of *Pliny*, and others who knew the Man.

When a Merry-Andrew adorns himself with a Cap and Bells, and a Fox's Tail, I acknowledge him a Fool: if he appears in the Habit of a Judge, I only think him a greater Fool: but a young Boy, who goes stooping along, with his Spectacles upon his Nose, is as ridiculous a Figure, as an old grey-headed Fellow riding a Broom-Stick. A Fool's Cap is not ridiculous upon a Fool's Head. An affected Gravity that covers Folly, is like a washed Shilling, that passes for a Guinea, till it comes to be tried. But Goldsmiths take no Metal till they have proved it; nor trust the Appearance, till they have touched the Substance. A silly Book in *Morocco*, is like a Fool well dressed; or an Ass in a Lion's Skin. *Gregory Nazianzen* relates this Fable. "The Birds contested the Choice of a King. "They all appeared finely adorned, upon the "Day of Election, except the Eagle, who came "in his natural Plumage; and was elected "unanimously, for being naturally adorned." Judges of Writing find some Authors too spruce
and

and finical; smelling of Effence, and fruitless Labour, rather than dressing with decent Care.

Congresses The most splendid Appearances in the World, may appear ridiculous to Philosophical Eyes. A general Assembly of the States of a Country appears with great Dignity and Honour. Kingdoms and Republics send Ministers and Plenipotentiaries to a Congress; for which whole Years are sometimes spent, in preparing. The wisest and properest Personages are selected, instructed, and equipped for this Purpose. By the external Appearance of Things, Men might hence expect the World to be rectified, States new moulded, and human Nature reformed. Yet, the Matters treated at these August Assemblies, are often such as Philosophers think below their Notice: for, these Grandees sometimes dispute which Ambassador shall pay another the first Visit; how many Paces the one shall meet the other; whether a Title shall be wrote with Abbreviations, or at full Length; whether the Credentials should be upon Paper or Parchment, &c. and such Matters shall here be carried on with so much Heat, that many a Congress has thus been embroiled, driven from the principal Design of their Meeting, and ended in a Rupture. *Diogenes* observing that the Inhabitants of *Athens*, treated Trifles with Gravity; rolled his Tub about the Streets; to shew them his Thoughts of their Behaviour.

General Councils. The World has frequently been honoured with Councils, and Assemblies of Divines, in different Quarters of Christendom. Prelates, Bishops,

Bishops, Abbots, have flocked together, from all the Corners of *Europe*, to deliberate and consult about the Welfare of the Pious, and the Interest of Religion. What can have a more awfull Appearance, a more pleasing Prospect than this? What can raise a greater Veneration in the Minds of Men, than to see the Guardian Angels of the States of Christendom thus assembled together? But when we consider what Matters have often been treated in these solemn Assemblies; that, setting Devotion aside, the Debates have turned upon the Habits and Beards of Churchmen; the proper Days for eating of Flesh, Fish and Eggs; the Order or Rank of the Churches; the Titles of Bishops, &c. our Veneration turns to Pity: because such Ceremonies seem to Philosophers fitter for an Assembly of Ladies, than for holy Prelates and Pastors.

What can be conducted with greater Pomp ^{Processions} and Solemnity, than Processions in Catholic ^{ons.} Countries? Upon coming into a Catholic City, you will often find the Houses illuminated; the Streets lined with Tapestry; a holy Reverence painted on every Face; the Bells ringing; and the whole Body of the Clergy walking in measured Steps, to the Sound of Music, thro' the Streets. The gaping Crowd, moved at this grand Appearance, falls upon the Knee, or devoutly kisses the Ground. Now, who could imagine that such a solemn Act as this should only denote some unknown Bone, Relick, &c. thus carried about in solemn State? Bishop *Burnet* relates that “ Whilst the Romish Clergy
“ in

“ in *London* were preparing for a Proceſſion,
 “ with the conſecrated Waſer ; ſome jocoſe Pro-
 “ teſtants ſlipt unobſerved to the Hoſt-Coffer,
 “ and took away the Waſer. The Proceſſion
 “ went on with the uſual Solemnity : but when
 “ ended, the Priests coming to open the Coffer,
 “ found that, inſtead of the Waſer, they had
 “ been devoutly carrying an empty Cheſt.”
 It is eaſy to gueſs what kind of Criticiſm this
 Proceſſion underwent ; eſpecially, when this
 Paſſage was ſung upon the Occaſion : *Surrexit ;*
non eſt hic.

Com-
 mence-
 ments.

Solemn University - Acts, and Proceſſions,
 are of the like kind. Here we ſee the utmoſt
 that *Minerva*, *Apollo*, and the Muſes can pro-
 duce. Here the *Reſtor Magnificus*, attended with
 the four Faculties, and reſpective Officers, walk
 in State ; and, wherever we caſt our Eyes, ſome
 Object preſents itſelf, to tell us that the Act is
 weighty, grave, and ſolemn. The Spectators,
 who judge from Appearance, grow big with Ex-
 pectation of ſomething more extraordinary ; but
 are quickly damped, upon hearing Diſputes upon
 abſtract Subjects, antiquated Cuſtoms, and dead
 Languages.

Writings.

We frequently ſee Books published with pom-
 pous Titles, elegant Copper-Plates, a neat Cha-
 racter, and all the Decorations that can help to
 raiſe a high Opinion of the Contents. And,
 when we are given to underſtand, that a Work
 has coſt more Time in compiling, than *Alexan-*
der took to conquer the World ; who would not
 expect a Maſterpiece ? Yet many a pompous
 Book

Book has nothing so despicable about it as the Contents.

When a Thing has no Utility, let Men Things to be judged of by their Use, dress it out with what pompous Names, honourable Titles, or great Preparations they please, it is no better than a Farce. We must not judge of Things by their Shew ; but weigh their Substance and Use. A Man who lives in a magnificent House, is not always rich ; nor every Gentleman learned who possesses a fine Library. The sober Look is not always wise. He who trusts to Appearance will often be cheated. Men to be new moulded, must undergo *Medeas's* Operation ; the whole Body must be softened, the old Juices evacuated, and new put in. Without a Metaphor, Governors must direct the Operation ; go radically and prudently to work, and shew the Universities and reformed Clergy of *Europe*, how to perform their respective Parts ; by rightly instructing the People in solid Principles, and practical Rules of Manners, suited to Men's different Stations and Offices of Life ; illustrating the Practice thereof by Example : for Man naturally follows his Leaders ; especially when he has a good Opinion of their Abilities and Sincerity.

III.

Of Decency and Fashion.

Decency
what.

MEN commonly call that decent, which agrees with the Mode, or Custom, prevailing in their own Country; and that indecent which disagrees with the Mode. The *Lacedemonians* discountenanced some of the Sciences, particularly Music, which the rest of *Greece* held in Esteem. *Epaminondas* was a great Performer in Music; but when an Instrument was offered to *Themistocles*, at a Feast, requesting him to play; he either being unable, or unwilling, refused; whence the Company took him for very unaccomplished, or highly uncivil.

May be di-
rected.

The governing Powers of a Country may order, in Matters of Indifference, what shall, and what shall not be accounted decent. As soon as the *Romans* were permitted to wear Silk; their former Notion of Indecency in wearing it, vanished. Uncustomary Things are vulgarly thought to be naturally indecent; and many Things appear to be natural, merely from Custom or Fashion. When the shaving of the Clergy was first proposed, in the Northern Countries, the Attempt appeared, in the Public Eye, contrary both to Religion and Morality: but, after the Custom was once introduced; not only the inferior Clergy, but even the Bishops were shaved, without the least Offence to the People.

And

And as we generally call uncustomary Things indecent ; so we frequently look upon Vices as innocent, or becoming, when once they grow fashionable. Drunkenness has been esteemed a kind of heroical Virtue, when People of Rank spent their Nights in Riot and Debauch ; yet there is no Sin more indecent or odious than this.

They who hold immoderate Drinking decent, yet rail against Sports, are like Soldiers that give up a City to defend a Fortrefs. Some exclaim against Dancing, Plays, Cards, and other innocent Diversions, as indecent and sinful. But these Men ought to know that such Censures are too bold ; and that neither the Clergy, nor even the Popes of *Rome* venture so far. Rash Decisions of the Ignorant may affect Morality itself, when Censure is weakly grounded upon private Fancy, or Custom ; which cannot decide any Point of Morality : because Men here argue from a Mixture of foreign and heterogeneous Notions, no way essential to the Subject.

Innocent
Diversi-
ons.

Cicero's Judgment is, that “ Men may use ‘ Recreations and Diversions, provided it be ‘ done with Moderation :” *Cantu, fidibus, tibiis tibi licet ; dummodo ea moderata sint.* The great *Scipio* was not ashamed to dance. *Scipio triumphale illud, ac militare Corpus, movit ad numeros.* *Sempronia* indeed was censured, not for dancing, but for dancing too well. *Semproniam reprehendit, non quòd saltaret, sed quòd optimè saltaret.* And in this View it was, that *Philip* of *Macedon* said to his Son, “ Are you not ashamed to sing so ‘ well ?” not thereby condemning Singing, but the

the too great Pains which *Alexander* had bestowed upon Music. Doubtless it is as absurd to forbid the Use of innocent Things, as to command it: yet this has been done; particularly under *James* the First: for, that King observing the Puritans stily condemned Pastimes, ordered all his Subjects, at certain Hours of the *Sunday*, should sport and play; with a Penalty annexed, that those who did not, should be looked upon as bad Christians.

Different
Customs
of Coun-
tries.

What in one Country is called Gravity, we find called Pride in another. What we call Liberty, might in other Nations pass for Ferocity; and what certain Countries call Modesty, others call want of Breeding. *Lobo*, in his *Abyssinian* Travels, relates, that foreign Ambassadors, upon having their first Audience, in a certain Country of *Africa*, are beaten with Sticks, by the Courtiers in waiting, as a Mark of Respect and Civility. This would not be thought polite in the Courts of *Europe*. But every Country has its Customs, as every Man has his Humour. To salute a young Lady in *Spain*, is as heinously looked upon, as violating her. But what thus enrages a *Spaniard*, is no more than Civility in *France* or *England*. It was formerly a Custom with young Ladies to tremble, squeal out, and even to faint away, upon barely hearing the Name of a Man mentioned, because this was then reckoned a Token of Modesty; but as we now draw no such Conclusion from these Premises, the Custom is left off.

Great Names have contributed to render Customs venerable. It was a sufficient Sanction to an ancient *Greek* or *Roman*, if a Philosopher of his own Sect had delivered an Opinion upon the Case. The like Weakness has prevailed among Christians, with regard to the Fathers; whose Opinions have been looked upon as Oracles; tho' we discover various Errors in their Morality. *Clemens Alexandrinus* holds the eating of white Bread unlawful; forbids Music and Singing; declares that the wearing of different coloured Cloaths is a Sign of Falshood; &c. *Lactantius* condemns all going to War, even for Self-Defence; and does not allow of putting out Money to Interest. St. *Chrysostom* exhorts Wives to follow the Example of *Sarah*, who gave herself up to the Use of the Barbarians in order to preserve her Husband.

The Sanction of great Names.

It is the Duty of a Philosopher, not only to combat Vice, but likewise such Follies and Fables as render Mankind contemptible: especially since Experience shews, that Levities go nearer to the Heart of Man, than weighty Matters; and that Trifles have given Occasion to the most violent Contentions. What Alarms were formerly rung upon Trifles! How did Men thunder against the high Head-Dresses of the Ladies? They compared these Heads to the Horns of the Devil, and held the Dress to be sinful; as if God had directed what Dress the Ladies should wear; or as if the Devil's Horns had been clearly proved upon him. It is well known, what a terrible War was formerly raised by the Monks, about

Great Effects of Trifles.

the Shape of their Cowls or Hoods; whence the *French* called it, *La Guerre des Capuchons*. The *Chinese* submitted to all the Hardships laid upon them by the *Tartars*; but when it came to the cutting off their Hair, they rather chose to lose their Lives. What Disturbances have been occasioned by the simple Question, “which was “better, to cross themselves with two Fingers, “or three?” To break Wind in Company, stands recorded as a most ignominious Crime amongst the *Arabians*; insomuch that they reckoned their *Æra* from such an Accident. The same Thing was held, by the *Japanese*, still more heinous: for the History of *Japan* shews, that such a Misfortune once happening to a young Court-Lady, as she was carrying a Pan of Fire-Coals; she took a live Coal out of the Pan, and swallowed it; being so highly ashamed, as not to endure Life after the Disaster. The erecting of a Monument at *Jerusalem*, to the Honour of the Emperor, whilst the *Romans* had Possession of the City, threw the *Jews* into such an Uproar, that they committed Murder even in the Temple. Sectarists have had the hottest Disputes about the Use of Buckles, and Shoe-Strings; as if Men honoured God more by the one than the other.

Since Mankind are so zealous about Trifles; and since Things of the slightest Nature go closest to the Heart; we need no longer wonder, that weighty Matters remain neglected; and Men commit such Sins, as they cannot bear to have
known

known or mentioned. *Olympia*, Mother of *Alexander* the Great, was no *Lucretia*; yet near her Death, she had such a Regard to Decency, that she covered her Face with her Hair, and her Legs with her Cloaths, that no Part of her Body might appear naked. Modesty was not reckoned among *Cæsar's* Virtues; yet when he saw himself falling by the Hands of his Murderers, he, likewise, wrapt up his Face in his Mantle with one Hand, and his Legs with the other; that he might die with the greater Decorum.

We must not judge of Men by their Carriage, or Cloathing. It is Wisdom to comply with the indifferent Fashions of one's Country; how strange soever they may be. But a wise Man will neither appear the first nor the last in the Mode: it is a Rule with him, to eat after his own Taste, but to dress after the Taste of others.

A Letter to an unfashionable Gentleman.

WHY has my Friend taken it into his Head to nourish his Beard, at a Time when all the World goes shaved? Why wilt thou thus render thyself ridiculous; and give thine Enemies the Handle of joking upon thee? They say, thou goest bearded, on purpose to be like nobody. Thou sayest, it is glorious to tread in the venerable Steps of our Forefathers; who loved their Beards as their Lives. But, I fear, thou hast not sufficiently considered what true Glory is.

To cloath one's self like other People is decent ; and to wear such Garments as no body else wears is indecent. It is ridiculous to distinguish one's self by Fashions out of Date ; for, Things that were formerly ornamental, are at present unsightly. It was once a decent Custom to wear Ruffs about the Neck ; which are now worn by none but Scaramouch. He who begins a Fashion is not wise ; and he who will never change one is no wiser. It is philosophical to follow the innocent Fashions of one's Country. If a Fool's Cap were fashionable ; he would be a Fool that did not wear one. Indecency does not consist in the Cloaths, but in their Singularity. If a Clergyman should now perform his Office, dressed like a Layman, it would appear shocking ; not upon account of the Cloaths, which are common, but the Novelty of the Thing : yet the primitive Clergy were not distinguished by their Dress from the Laity. In Pictures, indeed, we see Pastors of the ancient Churches painted in Canonicals ; but we must no more form our Notions of their Cloathing from thence, than of *Pontius Pilate's* Dress, when we see him painted in a Cardinal's Cap ; nor of the *Jewish* Passover, with a *Westphalia* Ham upon the Table.

A wise old Man, being asked why he danced, replied, " because the whole City dances." When my Taylor asks me how I would have my Cloaths made ? I tell him after the Fashion ; and think myself wiser for this, than by ordering him to cut my Coat to my own Fancy. For thus I shew an Indifference in an indifferent Thing ;

Thing; a Deference to the general Practice; and a Desire that my Cloaths should please others rather than myself. I know that Philosophers are reckoned to be Pleasers of themselves, rather than of others; but the Vulgar are apt to confound Philosophy with Positiveness and Caprice. He who will needs distinguish himself from others, by his Dress and Manner of Conversing, manifests Pride more than Humility, and Obstinacy more than Understanding. *Diogenes* seeing a *Rhodian* in a splendid Equipage, cried, "That is Pride:" and soon after, seeing a *Lacedemonian* in a coarse Coat, cried out, "That also is Pride." If it were the Mode to wear a Fox's Tail behind, I should not scruple to follow the Fashion, and appear like the rest. The Saying, that "a wise Man must distinguish himself from the Vulgar, by living, not according to Custom, but Reason;" does not hold true of such indifferent Things as Dress: for, to distinguish ourselves in these Things is Folly. The renowned *Mr. Klim*, finding himself taken for a Monster, in *Martinia*, because he had no Tail, presently accommodated himself to the Mode of the Country, and avoided farther Censure.

The same Advice I give to my Friend: shave thy Beard, and appear like a Man: for, the Fashion of Beards is no longer among Mankind; and only retained among Goats. Thy Beard is an open Declaration that thou art unwilling to pass for a Man, and hadst rather pass for a Goat. But the worst is, that with all thy Precaution,

the Goats will not receive thee; for, tho' thou hast a Beard, thou hast no Horns; so that thou wilt appear a Monster, both to Goats and Men. I shall give thee no Rest, till thou dost abolish thy most unmanly Ornament: for, as Nations at War will seldom make Peace, but on Condition of having some annoying Fortress demolished; so will I never make Peace with thee, till thy Beard is razed and levelled with thy Chin.

III.

Of gaining a Character.

Equal Vir-
tues diffe-
rently re-
warded.

Charac-
ters, how
procured.

VIRTUES may be practised in an equal Degree, yet appear in different Lights. Slender Virtues may be highly esteemed; because they appear in certain Places, or before certain Persons. Some Men exercise high Virtues in Obscurity; as living in the Country, or among low People. I knew a worthy Country-Gentleman painted at Court in the blackest Colours; who at the same time was extremely beloved in his own Country. Upon expressing my Concern at this, the Gentleman replied: "The Country-People, who are friendly to me, have no Correspondence at Court; and therefore my Reputation reaches no farther than my Parish: whereas some potent Persons, against whom I defend the common People, are

“are intimate with Principals at the Capital.” And indeed I have frequently remarked, that others, by pursuing the same Method, meet with the same Fate: as, on the other hand, I find many who are generally hated in their own Country, pass for Angels at the Capital.

It may, therefore, be taken as a Rule, that whoever would procure himself a Name in the great World, should endeavour to make his Virtues flow in certain Canals, which may carry them to the Place, where their Fruit is to be reaped. For, the Friendship of one Peer often produces greater Effects, than the Love of a hundred Commoners: as a single Knight, or Castle, at Chess, shall have more Efficacy in the Game, than all the Pawns. The Children of this World have a steady Eye to the Rule, and find their Account in it. A certain Country Justice spoke to the Point: “Since the President is my Friend; what care I for the Corruption?” For, the President corresponded with the higher Powers. And, upon this Observation is founded the Monkish Maxim: *Fac Officium taliter qualiter; & sta benè cum Domino Priore.* “Do your Duty as you may; but keep well with the Lord Abbot.”

We can no more depend upon the Character a Man bears in some Places, than upon the Accounts of public Transactions in the common News-Papers. Many a News-Paper Battle dwindles into a Skirmish, and many a Victory into a Defeat. If we would really enquire into a Man's Character, we should resort to the Place

of his Abode, and there procure a just Information, not from his Superiors, on the Spot, but from his Neighbours of equal Rank ; with whom he has lived in his own natural Manner. Many Princes have disguised themselves, and mixed with the common People, on purpose to procure a just and full Intelligence of particular Persons and Things. The true, natural Character of a Man being only to be had from his Equals ; Governors seldom know more of him than Reports brought them either by ignorant or self-interested People. The Great are often deceived by Appearance, and personated Character ; so as to see People in a Light very different from the true one. Every Candidate is virtuous and obsequious, ready and obliging, in the Presence of his Patron ; like a Lover in the Presence of his Mistress ; or like the young Lady herself, who, before Matrimony, is all Perfection. I judge this a necessary Intimation to Governors, and Patrons. Daily Experience shews how wretchedly we are imposed upon by the Attestations of People, authorised to characterize another Man's Virtues or Abilities; and that we can only have a Man's true Character, from those with whom he lives free and unreserved. This Rule is so neglected, that many among the Vulgar, undauntedly persist in Vice ; because they assure themselves it will not hinder their Promotion, if they can but secure the Friendship of the Great. Whoever, therefore, proposes to raise himself a Name, and become considerable, may follow the Monkish Rule
above-

above-mentioned; and stand well with the Abbot.

With Regard to the having a Man's Character, it may be supposed safer trusting to one or two intelligent Persons, than to a Cloud of vulgar Witnesſes; who frequently, thro' Error, confound Virtues and Vices; and turn enormous Crimes into heroical Actions. And I do not recommend trusting to the Judgment of the Vulgar; but the gaining of ſuch an historical Account, as by due Enquiry, we find to be real or ſufficiently exact to form a Judgment upon. If the questioned People ſhould ſay, that ſuch an one is a virtuous Man, I am not to reſt here, but enquire farther, to diſcover whether the Character be juſtly given. If a Corporation praiſe its Magiſtrate, or a Country Pariſh its Paſtor, I aſk the Reaſon why; and if I find that the Praiſe of the Magiſtrate ariſes from his Remiſſneſs or Neglect of Duty, which my Informers miſtake for Good-Nature and Honesty; or that the Praiſe of the Prieſt ariſes from his being jolly and loving his Glaſs; I have thus obtained ſufficient Information: tho', from the ſame Premises, my Informers and I draw different Concluſions.

Governors cannot ſafely rely upon the Teſtimony of their Dependants: becauſe the Information may come from ſuch Perſons in Office, as either draw falſe Characters ignorantly, or with a View to their own Intereſt. Many a Steward will give an Atteſtation of Honesty, for the ſake of a Gratiuity; and many a Maſter will give

Hard for
Rulers to
know
Men.

give his loose Servant a good Character, in order to get rid of him.

Others suffer themselves to be imposed upon by external Behaviour; because they see People masked. It is therefore certain, that whoever would have a Man's true Character, must seek it among that Man's Companions and Equals; because all other Witnesses are fallacious and incompetent. But till this Rule is better followed, I abide by my foregoing Advice; and repeat, that if a Man desire to acquire a Name, and to rise in Life, let him cultivate the Friendship of the Great: but if he had rather have a good Conscience, than a glaring Character; let him deal well by the common People, support or employ the Necessitous, patronize the Weak, and help the Distressed.

IV.

Of Idleness and Business.

Idleness
and Business.

PART of our Lives is spent in doing Mischief; a greater Part in doing nothing; almost the whole unprofitably; and yet we complain for want of Time. All Men agree, that much of our Lives is spent in doing wrong; and acting idly: I will, therefore, only speak of such Persons as busy themselves to little Purpose. And since Triflers are apt to look upon themselves as useful Members of Society, tho' no Fruit

Fruit arises from their Stir ; it becomes necessary to advertise these Busy-Bodies of the Difference there is betwixt useful Labour, and useless Bustling ; in order, if possible, to make them reflect, that they might often do more, if they would please to do less.

Many raise needless Difficulties, for the sake of solving them ; as Children knit Knots on purpose to untie them ; or build Card-Houses to throw them down again. This is not Business. If a Man should rise to speak in public, turn himself first to the Right, then to the Left ; display his Hands ; practise the Gestures of Orators ; and only repeat a hundred Times over, “ I beg to be heard ;” this would be Action and Labour ; but fruitless and frantic. Strange as this Image appears ; wherever we turn our Eyes, we may readily observe Things of the like frivolous, fruitless Nature.

The busiest People usually perform the least Work. On the other hand, those often transact the weightiest Affairs, who make the least Bustle. Rowers take Pains, bestir themselves, and make a great Clatter ; whilst the Steersman sits quiet, and silently conducts the Boat. A Busy-Body resembles a managed Horse in his Exercise ; that capers, and curvets, and prances, and fiddles, till he is all of a Foam, before he gets the Length of a Street.

The World abounds with such Multitudes of Idle Authors. Books, that the bare Catalogues of them might be thought Monuments of Industry ; especially in the

the present Age, when almost every Man is an Author; and the Trade of instructing the World by Writing, got down to the Peasant and the Profligate. Such immense Treasures of Writings might raise a great Idea of the Labour, and Ingenuity of Authors; who may all be looked upon as Volunteers, generously serving the Public. But, if these Books, be tried by the intellectual Balance; we shall find them extremely light, in proportion to their Bulk. Corn may be thick sown, and the Crop prove slender. One Sterling Line may be beat out into Pages. If twenty Authors copy a Book; it makes one and twenty. We may say of the modern Writers, as the Ancients did of the Works of *Chrysippus* that “if they were sifted from Piracies, little
“ would remain in the Sieve.” We have not near so many new Books as new Title-Pages. Authors frequently make the Public a Present of stolen Goods, disguised, to prevent Discovery.

Triflers.

Some Authors stuff their Books with useless Curiosities; and deserve Censure, for filling their own Heads with Trumpery, and shewing Address in Insignificancy. *Aniceris* once gave a public Specimen of his Dexterity, by driving a Carriage along strait Lines, to the Astonishment of the Beholders; but, *Plato* shook his Head, and cried, “This Man can have done nothing
“ useful, who has spent so much Time upon
“ Trifles.” Another shewed his Dexterity of Hand before *Alexander* the Great, by throwing a Heap of Pease, singly, thro’ the Eye of a Bodkin, without missing once. The Man expected
a great

a great Reward : *Alexander* ordered him a Present of Pease, that he might not want Balls for his Bauble. One boasting before *Diogenes* of having won the Prize at the Course ; *Diogenes* told him, “ A Deer could run much faster ; “ yet was but a timorous Creature.” The same *Diogenes*, to shew the Folly of crowning the Victors, at Wrestling, Racing, and Boxing ; once crowned a Horse that had kicked and beat another Horse out of the Field. This Philosopher called Conquerors Cowards, who durst not encounter Avarice, Pride, and Vanity, which are the great Enemies of Mankind.

Useful Things frequently require more Labour in the Production, than Matters of Moment ; whence the Poet aptly calls them *difficiles Nugæ* “ laborious Trifles.” A Lady’s Head-Dress is a Thing of small Importance ; but how much Time, Labour, and Skill, is mispent in making a dressed Head ? “ *Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur Annus est.*” Whilst the Ladies, with all their Apparatus at hand, are dressing for a Ball, a Play might be acted, or a Cause decided at Law.

We have many Examples of Authors, who impair both their Health and Understanding, in illustrating such Points, as no sensible Man would desire to know. Enquiries about the Neckcloths, Shoes, Boots, Hats, Bracelets, Armour, &c. of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, have filled numerous Volumes. Learned Men have procured great Reputation, by very insignificant Labours. *Columbus* cannot be more famous, than a Man who describes the Temple of *Jerusalem* ;
the

the bare Attempts to which, have cost as much Pains as the Discovery of *America*; tho' it is as hard to see the Usefulness of such a Description, as difficult to make it. But this serves to shew what Men might do, were they in Earnest to discover new Arts; and not bestow their Time in examining old Walls and Altar-Pieces, Pillars and Doors, or determining whether a Curtain hung in the East or West of a Temple.

The polite
Arts. There are indeed certain Works, which tho' in themselves difficult and costly, yet prove a proper Employment, and noble Entertainment for the Wealthy. Fine Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Poetry, &c. are polite, ingenious, and curious Arts, that delight Mankind, and adorn a Country. In this Class I likewise reckon all agreeable kinds of Writing, that cheer and revive the Spirits, without debasing our Nature: and, by the reading of such Writings, I have frequently found more effectual Physic, than that the Doctors deal in.

Too curious Books. But immense Number of Books are published, serving neither to Use, Ornament, or Recreation; as they neither instruct nor please. Such Books are like nauseous Physic; which we swallow against our Will, and yet receive no Benefit from it. The most astonishing Part is, that learned Men should publish Comments upon Things, before they know whether the Things exist; as Basilisks, Dragons, the Phoenix, Witches, Conjurers, Apparitions, &c. Some Men excruciate themselves about such Points of Chronology, as are dark and unsearchable. Others

Others dispute about the Actions of a Person, whilst it is not known there ever was such a Person in the World. Many plunge into Metaphysics, or endeavour to explain the Nature and Properties of Spirits, and incorporeal Substances, which no body has any Idea of. And with this refined Rubbish, all Libraries are loaded. Such Works are like Cob-Webs, and their Authors like Spiders; who spin themselves to Skeletons, and leave their ensnaring Productions behind them.

We need only peruse the Extracts of Books yearly published, and even of those commonly esteemed the best, to convince us, that many a huge Volume might, by careful Correction, be reduced to a Pamphlet. Many a bulky Book is like a young Lady, who at her Toilet appears so slim and slender, as if she could slip thro' every Chink in the House; but when full dressed, in her swelling Hoop, requires the whole Street to walk in; so that People might wonder how she came out of her Door. Anciently the World laboured under a Want of Books, whence Authors were prompted to write; but as, at present, we super-abound with Writings, it might be proper to diminish their Number, by appointing Censors, to observe whether a Book be a Copy or an Original, and contain useful or useless Matter. The learned Mr. *Klim* assures us, that in the Principality of *Potu*, no body was permitted to publish a Book, till his Age and Capacity gave Reason to expect he would not produce a Monster. The *Lacedemonians*

Multitude
of unnecessary
Writings.

demonians allowed no lame Men to cohabit with their Wives; for fear of filling the Country with Cripples. Certain Writers should be debarred the Use of Pen and Ink; lest by staining of Paper, they stain Mens Minds. Another Regulation in *Pom* is, the appointing of certain Judges, yearly to examine the Booksellers Shops, and take Care that no abortive Books slip into the Country; and weed the Shops as Gardeners weed their Ground. He who regards his Health, avoids pernicious Aliments: we should take equal Care of the Mind, and not suffer it to be corrupted by the Reading, of pernicious Books. The like Judgment may be extended to many other Things besides Books; for Men's real Works are not so great or numerous as they appear.

The right
Use of
Time.

Those who want Time, may have it, if they will use it. In *Klim's* Subterraneous Voyage, a Nation is represented passing ten Hours of the four and twenty, in Sleep; and yet performing more Business than another that continually laboured, without Sleeping. The former found Time sufficient, because they did nothing unnecessary; and the latter wanted Time, because they performed more than was needful. We frequently hear sauntering People complain of wanting Time; and may pity them as much as we do those idle Sailors, who keep tacking and plying about at Sea, when they might sail, right before the Wind, into Harbour.

Public Bu-
siness to be
shortened.

It is to be wished that proper Overseers were appointed to inspect all public Business; because un-

unnecessary Things are so multiplied in great Cities, and run out to such Lengths, that the Body-Politic suffers as much under them, as the natural Body does from Redundancy of Humours. This Evil might, in part, be cured, by proper Examiners of Books; and partly by Judges in Courts of Law. The Examiners should sift all Books before they are printed, in order to separate the good Parts from the bad, the necessary from the unnecessary; so that the Public should have only the Metal, and Authors retain the Dross for themselves.

The Judges in Court might restrain Lawyers from running out in their Pleadings, and make the Council speak to the Point. Or, the Time of Pleading might be regulated on both Sides, by the Hour-Glass; according to the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Custom. To convince any sensible Man what Necessity there is for some such Regulation, he need only attend a common Court of Justice, so long as to hear two or three Witnesses examined; and observe how many pertinent Questions are asked.

In the dilatory Proceedings of Law much Time is wasted, the Judge tormented, and the Parties run to unnecessary Charges. In Opinions, Settlements, Contracts, Agreements, and other public Instruments of Business; we commonly find, that Preamble and Repetition make three Fourths of the Whole.

Sermons and Speeches might for the most Part be shortened to great Advantage. Nothing is more irksom than Prolixity; nothing more tiresom than

Concise-
ness re-
commend-
ed.

diffusive Authors, or loquacious Orators, dealing out drowsy Periods. It was formerly a Custom in *Russia* to chuse him for their Priest, who could oftenest, in one Breath, repeat “*Hospodi Pomiglio* :” i. e. “ Lord have Mercy upon us.” If I was to chuse an Orator, he should neither fatigue himself, nor his Hearers, by holding his Wind too long. Conciseness is a Virtue. Prolixity confounds the Mind, and wastes good Time. Life is only short to Triflers. *Seneca* says well, “ Most Men complain that Nature has made “ Life short ; but the Truth is, we do not “ rightly employ our Lives. Riches soon vanish in squandering Hands ; whilst a moderate “ Estate is improved by Frugality. Our Lives “ are lengthened by being well filled up : and “ an useful Life is a long one.”

V.

Of Taste.

Power of
Taste.

TH O’ Taste, in the Abstract, may appear but a trivial Thing ; yet whoever examines History and Mankind, will find it a main Spring of Business and Action. The Regulation of Taste might prove a powerful Engine, in the Hands of Governors, to bring about desirable Ends ; and render a People industrious, virtuous, and happy.

Taste in
Children.

Children may help us to form a right Judgment of Taste. We see they generally delight in

in Milk and Fruits, which Nature supplies in Plenty: whence it may be inferred, there is a native Agreeableness in such Things. Grown People are not here such competent Judges; being so debauched by Custom, Fashion, and Fancy, as rather to esteem Things according to acquired Prejudice and Habit, than according to natural Goodness. The Scarcity and Price of Things often make us despise what Nature, in Kindness, has marked for Good, and produced in Abundance. We acquire an Aversion to Things obtainable with Ease, or small Expence; and cultivate a Liking, or Fondness, for worse, that are dear, and obtained with Difficulty. What has made Tea more agreeable than Milk, but the Difference of Price; which renders the one more fashionable than the other? Vegetable Productions of *China*, and the East, taste finer for the long Voyage it costs to fetch them. Men generally fancy dear Things must be good.

How debauched.

By Fancy.

Elegant Tables are covered with Dishes, to which a Man must be accustomed, before he can find them pleasing; whilst the Farmer's Eating is naturally agreeable, cheap, and necessary. If the Experiment be made with a Child, before his Taste is debauched, he will prefer the Farmer's Diet to the Nobleman's. The Palate of the Rich is depraved by acquired Habits, and Fashions. It happens in Eating and Drinking, as in Dress and Behaviour. If a Prince was to walk upon Stilts, his Courtiers would follow him; and maintain the Practice to be genteel and rational. We can accommodate ourselves to the

Use of bad-tasted Things, and troublesome Habits, in order to be distinguished from the Vulgar. Custom turns to a kind of Nature ; and makes Things pleasant, that at first were disagreeable.

Tobacco is not naturally pleasing ; yet whole Nations are so fond of it, that they will not live without it. The great *Persian* King, *Abbas*, once attempted to wean his Subjects from the Use of it, but in vain ; they all declaring it was their Comfort. The King, upon this, invited some principal Persons to a Collation of Tobacco ; and had the Pipes filled with the dried Mundingus of Geese and Cows ; pretending it to be an extraordinary Sort of Tobacco, sent him as a Present. The Guests smoaked their Pipes, praised the Tobacco, and knew not the Composition till they were told.

Appetite
raised by
Difficulty.

The Taste for Things that are naturally disagreeable, may please for being procured with Difficulty. We slight fallen Fruit, and climb the Tree to pluck what is not so ripe. The forward Lady disgusts her Admirer ; whilst an artful Virgin, affecting Coyness, excites the Appetite of her Lover, and secures her Conquest. *Anna Bullen* practised this Art with Success ; and could never have obtained her Wish, by behaving with less *Hauteur* to *Harry* the Eighth. Affecting Indifference and Reluctance, paved her Way to the Crown. The inordinate Effects of Love are no where greater than in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *East*, where it is the Practice to lock up the Ladies ; so that Men cannot get at them without

without Risk: but the Difficulty heightens the Relish. A thousand Stratagems are used to take such Forts as are well defended.

Cunning Merchants keep up the Price of their Goods, or render them difficult to come at, in order to excite the Appetite of the Buyer. And we need only make a Thing cheap, easy to get, or shew it in Plenty, to damp the Desire for it. Grocers therefore let their Boxes stand open to their Servants; and Vintners make their Drawers free of the Cellar. If Champaign were a common Wine, it would have fewer Admirers. Medals are coveted for their Scarcity; Pictures for their Rarity; and Books for being hard to come at.

But there is a great Variety of Tastes in the World; and this Variety keeps Numbers of People employed, who might otherwise remain idle, or hurt Society. We are apt to exclaim against bad Taste, tho' even ourselves, our Friends, and Relations, receive Advantages from it. Nature regulates all Things wisely; and perhaps more suitably to the State of Man, than we superficially imagine. If all Men were wise, Society could not well subsist. A Mixture of prudent and weak People hath an excellent Effect. Difference of Taste makes nothing remain useless in the World. All sorts of Arts, Business, Trades, and Traffic are hence promoted; and no one sort of Ware lies totally neglected. Some have a Taste for Sweet, others for Bitter, some for Slight, some for Strong, some for Old, some for New, &c. whence a Merchant provided with Variety, need never want

And Scarcity.

Effects of Men's different Tastes.

Customers. “ If there were no Fool’s Heads, “ no Fool’s Caps would be sold.” And if there was no bad Taste in the World, what would become of our numerous Authors, Booksellers, and their Families? If a true Taste for Writing should grow into Fashion, the present Tribe of Poets might well cry out, *O Tempora ! O Mores !* If good Taste was general, what would become of that immense Set of Bunglers in all the Professions ?

Effects of
bad Taste.

Bad Taste suffers nothing to stagnate. It is a Comfort in Plenty, and a Spur to Industry ; it enlivens Society, and promotes the Propagation of the Species. If all Men were delicate, many a young Lady might, like *Jephtha’s* Daughter, bewail her Virginity : but, as some Men are fond of Youth, others of Antiquity, some of Beauty, others of Money, one of Black, another of Fair, &c. here is an open Market for Maids and Widows of all Sorts. What Numbers would go without Titles and Honours, if they had a true Taste? Want of Taste often compensates for want of Sense. If it were not for bad Taste, how should we come by such excellent Schools, Universities, and Politicians, as *Europe* abounds with? To wish for an Universality of good Taste, is wishing the Downfall of half Mankind.

Taste and
Know-
ledge to be
improved.

To be more serious ; till the Morals of Men can be farther improved, it may afford us some Consolation to see Advantages arising from Depravity of Taste; and that the more we know of the World, the less imperfect we find it upon the Whole. Suitable Provision is made for Man, let him act

as

as he pleases. Even our Infirmities are provided against. And this may dispose us either to rest contented with Things as we find them; or spur us on to mend our Condition. Doubtless, every Man who finds himself capable, in what Shape soever it be, should add to the common Stock of Knowledge; and some Way or other promote the public Happiness. The World seems put into our Hands, as *Eden* was into the Hands of our first Parents, to dress, cultivate, and improve it.

VI.

Of Friends and Enemies.

NO Virtue is more frequently mentioned, Friends and less practised, than Friendship. rare. Every Man imagines he has Friends; yet every Man may here find himself deceived. What we generally call Friendship is a spurious Virtue, that vanishes in Time of Trial. Adversity is the Touchstone of Friendship. King *Tarquin* declared it owing to his Misfortunes, and Banishment, that he ever discovered who were his Friends, or Enemies; because he could then no longer oblige them. Such Observations have opened the Eyes of others, upon finding themselves deserted in Misfortunes by those they esteemed their fastest Friends. *Aulus Gellius* has preserved to us an elegant Fable of *Æsop*, to this Purpose.

Fable of
the Lark.

“ A Lark, who had her Nest in a Corn-Field,
 “ going to seek Food for her Young, charged
 “ them to observe carefully what they should see
 “ or hear, in her Absence; and give her an Ac-
 “ count of it at her Return. Whilst she was gone,
 “ they over-heard the Owner of the Field order
 “ his Son, as the Corn was now ripe, to desire
 “ their Friends to assist in reaping the next Day.
 “ This the trembling young-ones related to
 “ their Mother; and begged her to look out
 “ for a Place, where they might be secure.
 “ The old Lark was not terrified at the Account,
 “ but bid her little Brood have Patience; saying,
 “ if the Owner trusted to his Friends only, the
 “ Field would not be reaped to-morrow. The
 “ next Day she left them again; with the same
 “ Charge as before. The Owner of the Field
 “ returned, in hopes of Reaping, but waited the
 “ Arrival of his Friends, in vain; then said to
 “ his Son: I perceive our Friends are unwil-
 “ ling to come; go therefore to our Relations,
 “ and pray them to assist us in reaping to-mor-
 “ row. This also the frightened Young related
 “ to their Mother, who again bid them be com-
 “ forted; for, says she, it is as silly to trust to
 “ Relations as Friends; and therefore be assu-
 “ red, the Corn will not be reaped to-morrow.
 “ The Lark left her Brood the third time. The
 “ Owner came again, and finding no Relations
 “ appear, said to his Son, Thou seest that in Time
 “ of Need, a Man has neither Friends nor Re-
 “ lations; therefore, let thee and I take each of
 “ us our Sickle, and reap to-morrow by our-
 “ selves.

“ selves. This the young Larks related to their
 “ Mother; who then cried, Now it is time to
 “ move off, for the Corn will infallibly be reap-
 “ ed to-morrow. She, therefore, immediately
 “ transferred her Brood to a safer Place; and the
 “ Corn was reaped accordingly.”

But tho' we are frequently deceived in our ^{Friends not} Friendships, we should not stretch our Suspi- ^{to be de} cion too far, and turn Prudence into Misfan- ^{spaired of.} thropy, like *Timon of Athens*; who had no Confidence but in *Apemantus*, and that not entire. For as they once dined together, *Apemantus* happening to say it was a satisfactory Meal; *Timon* replied, “ It would have been more satisfactory
 “ to me, if you had not partook of it.” Another Instance of his Hatred to Mankind was this, that having given a general Invitation to the *Athenians*; he made them the following Speech. “ I
 “ have a Fig-Tree in my Court-Yard, whereon
 “ the People of this Place are accustomed to hang
 “ themselves; but being determined to build up-
 “ on the Spot where it grows, I shall be obliged
 “ to cut the Tree down: I therefore give this
 “ public Notice, that, if any Man has a mind
 “ to hang himself, he may make use of the Op-
 “ portunity, whilst the Tree remains fit for his
 “ Purpose.”

Such outrageous Malevolence must be carefully avoided, and *Seneca's* Advice be followed, in chusing a middle Way, betwixt that of making Friendship with all we meet, and of suspecting every Mortal. It is as great a Folly to believe no body, as every body.

Friendship

True
Friend-
ship.

Friendship is often confounded with Party; whence Men frequently join in Wickedness, instead of uniting in Virtue. Let a Thing be ever so good, it becomes bad if carried too far. All the Virtues have their Limits, which should never be passed. Genuine Friendship consists in the close Union of two or more Persons; who inwardly love one another; and promote each others Welfare as their own, in all good and lawful Designs only: otherwise the Junction loses the Name and Nature of Friendship; and turns to Combination and Conspiracy. If one Man obliges himself to defend and justify all the Actions of another, whether they be good or bad, right or wrong; this is not Virtue or Friendship but Vice, and Villainy. For, there can be no Friendship but betwixt good Men. When bad Men unite in the same Desires, Fears, Animosities, Endeavours, and Ends; this is not Friendship, but Combination or Faction. It is a gross Error, to call this kind of Junction Friendship; and arises from the strange Propensity of the Vulgar, to confound Virtues and Vices. The common People look upon Friendship as an offensive and defensive Alliance, on all Occasions, good, bad, and indifferent. When a Drunkard, a Robber, an Adulterer, &c. is accused; these vulgar Wretches think it their Duty to defend, or bring off their Friends; and censure those who will not endeavour to blanch and conceal such Enormities. But, if this be Friendship, the Patronizing of Thieves and Robbers is Virtue. According to these bad Principles, the famous *Cartouche* was a Hero,

Corrupt
Friend-
ship.

Hero, who suffered the severest Penalties, for some Years, without betraying his Gang; thinking the Law of Friendship required this obstinate Behaviour. Yet many among the Vulgar admired and praised this sturdy Resolution, as a Sign of true Courage and Friendship.

Daily Experience shews, that few Men distinguish betwixt Friendship and Conspiracy. Even Philosophers, and the Learned, have been guilty of this Error. *Chilon*, one of the seven wise *Greeks*, once doubted how to behave as a Judge, in an unjust Cause of his Friend. On the one Side, he considered the Transgression of the Law; and on the other, the Transgression of Friendship; so that he took the Medium betwixt the two; passed Sentence upon his guilty Friend, but prevailed upon the Assessors to acquit him; and fancied' he thereby fulfilled the Duty both of a Judge and Friend. Thus the Philosopher sacrificed his Character of Honesty, to a false Idea of Friendship: for, to judge contrary to Law, or persuade others to do so, is the same Thing, as to the Fact; tho' indeed the latter is the greater Crime, because it adds Cunning to Injustice. An honest Man will not regard the Person of his Friend, when appointed his Judge. Yet many great Men besides *Chilon*, have given into this Error; as appears, among numerous Instances, from the Explanation of *Gellius*, upon this very Procedure of *Chilon*: for *Gellius* thinks, that the Philosopher here took an excellent middle Way; "so as to restrain two violent Passions within
"due Bounds." We likewise see, that *Cicero*
himself

himself was guilty of an Error, in declaring that
 “ a Man should not refuse to suffer a small Dis-
 “ grace, in order to procure a great Advantage
 “ to his Friend.” *Tenuis vel turpitudine, vel infamia, subeunda est; si eâ re magna Utilitas Amico queri potest.*

The Friendship of *Caius Blossius* to *Tiberius Gracchus*, deserves the Name of Treachery, rather than Friendship: upon being asked what he would do for his Friend, he answered, “ Every Thing.” “ How, every Thing,” says *Lælius*: “ suppose your Friend should bid you
 “ fire a Temple?” “ That,” replied *Blossius*,
 “ my Friend would never desire.” “ But suppose he should,” rejoined *Lælius*. “ Why
 “ then” said *Blossius*, “ I would do it.”

The great *Pericles* judged more sensibly; when being desired by his Friend to give a false Testimony in his Favour, answered, “ A Man should
 “ oblige his Friend in every Thing but Wicked-
 “ ness.” Whence appears the Folly of those who are ready to sacrifice even their Souls to their Friends; as in the Fashion of Duelling by Proxy. The great Poet *Simonides* once requested something unjust from *Themistocles*, whose Friendship he relied on; but *Themistocles* replied, “ If
 “ you should offend against the Rules of Poetry, you would be no good Poet; and if I
 “ should offend against the Laws, I can be no
 “ good Governor.” *Rutilius Rufus* was upbraided by his Friend in these Words, “ What signifies your Friendship to me, when you will not
 “ do what I request?” *Rufus* answered; “ And
 “ pray

“ pray, where is the Good of your Friendship to
 “ me, when you ask a Thing which I dare not
 “ do ?” *Cicero’s* Rule of Friendship is right :
 “ not to ask any Thing unjust ; nor to do it if
 “ asked.” *Hæc prima Lex in Amicitia sancia-*
tur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus
rogati.

It is necessary to procure Friends ; but more Efficacy of
 necessary to reconcile ourselves with Enemies. Friends and
 As Hatred has a stronger and quicker Effect than Enemies.
 Friendship ; one Enemy may do us more Hurt,
 than ten Friends can do us Good. And hence
 the common Saying is justified ; “ One Enemy
 “ is too much ; and a hundred Friends too little.”
 My Enemy may burn my House in an Hour ;
 and my Friends not build it up in a Year. A
 Character is easily lost, but not easily recovered.
 Besides, true Friendship is rarer than perfect
 Hatred. A *Damon* and *Pythias*, a *Scipio* and
Lælius, are hard to be met with : the World
 affords but few Examples of such perfect Friend-
 ship. Friends, in Times of Trial, wriggle, draw
 back, hesitate, and fall off ; and we have Pro-
 verbs enow to that Purpose. But not to mention
 masked Friendships, of which History, and daily Enemies
 Experience, supply innumerable Instances ; we not to be
 may observe that Hatred and Enmity are serious,
 earnest, and constant Things ; which never fail
 in the Will, when our Enemy has Power to hurt.
 It is miserable to live without Friends ; but unsafe
 and dangerous to live among Enemies. If my
 Friend die, I am grieved : if my Enemy die, I
 am freed from a threatened Danger. Most of my
 Friends

Friends do me neither Good nor Harm ; but the least of my Enemies may hurt me. All Men are able to do Mischief. It is therefore wrong to trust entirely to Friends; and say, “ tho’ we have “ some Enemies, yet we have good Friends.” It might be much safer to have neither Friends nor Enemies. It is more prudent to be reconciled with a little Enemy, than to procure a mighty Friend. Let an Enemy be ever so puny, he has a Sting. Besides, we are not so much to regard what a Man is, as what he may be. Experience shews, that many, whose Malice was despised, have made themselves felt, when Opportunity offered. A despised Enemy is not conquered. And as we see in Romances, that a Cat is sometimes changed into a furious Knight ; and a Foundling into a Prince’s Son ; so we daily find, in Reality, great and unexpected Transformations of Men : whence it is adviseable, to look even upon the meanest Person, as one whose Help we may want some time or other. I have formerly despised an Enemy, thinking it out of his Power to hurt me ; but have found him grow over my Head, and render my Life uneasy. I now run into the other Extreme ; my Precaution being so great, that I am ready to make every Horse a Bow ; because History informs me, a Horse was once made a Consul. This Fear, I own, may be carried too far ; but when a Man has been burnt, he dreads the Suspicion of Fire. He who has broke his Head against a low Door, is apt to stoop, when he enters a high one.

If an Enemy cannot be brought to Terms ; we should, at least, give him no fresh Provocation ; for thus, tho' he is not disarmed, his Rage may be lessened, if we should fall under his Lash. But we must not carry the Matter so far as the Nobleman mentioned by *Selden*. This Nobleman being once instructed by his Tutor, how to procure good Treatment, in case of falling into his Enemy's Hands: The Pupil answered, " I have constantly followed your Rule, even as " to the Devil himself ; and therefore hope that " his infernal Majesty will treat me with Civility, " if I go to his Court."

Socrates once hearing *Cleomenes* praised for saying, " it was the Duty of a Prince to reward " his Friends, and distress his Enemies ; " replied, It might have been better if *Cleomenes* had taught, that " we should do good to our Friends, " and be reconciled to our Enemies." The bitterest Enemy may be disarmed by Civility, and Patience. The great *Pericles* being once reviled by a Citizen, who continued his foul Language till Evening ; *Pericles* ordered him to be lighted Home, because it was dark. *Chrysispus*, when reproached by a noted Reviler, said, " Friend, I praise thy Resolution, in thus continuing to support thy Character." " Do good to thy Friend," says the wise *Cleobulus*, " for that will increase his Friendship ; and do " Good to thy Enemy, for that will lessen his " Hatred." An intelligent Commander fights resolutely against the Enemy ; but takes Care to have it known, he fights out of Duty, not personal

To be
prudently
treated.

sonal Enmity ; and therefore, if he falls into the Enemy's Hands, he is not treated as a Murderer, but as a Prisoner of War ; who hath done no more than his Post and Profession required. In the taking of Towns, not only Soldiers, but Women and Children, have been put to the Sword ; when the Enemy had been insulted and enraged, during the Siege : whereas the Conquerors would have been contented with subduing the Place, if the Conquered had been prudent enough to use only the Weapons of War, and not the Tongue. To this purpose *Plutarch* makes a prudent Reflection, in the Example of one *Euthymus*, whom the Enemy would have spared, if it had not been for his Reviling ; but his calling the *Corinthians* effeminate, cost him his Life.

Sarcasm.

We find this Rule no where less observed than at the Bar ; where a Pleader seldom confines himself to the supporting of his Cause, without launching into personal Reflection and Insult : by which Procedure a good Cause is often made bad ; and the insulted Lawyer, who before was only an Enemy to the Cause, becomes an Enemy to its Defender. If *Cicero*, in defending himself and the Republic, against *Anthony*, had dropt Invective ; or not swelled his Harangues with personal Abuse, and bitter Sarcasm ; it is probable the End of the Orator would not have proved so tragical. The same may be said of numberless others, who enrage their Enemy, and treat his Foibles and Failings with extreme Contempt ; not considering that one single Circumstance may deliver them a Prey to their

their Enemy. *Cicero* slighted his Enemy, who in a short Time got the Ascendency over him. He trusted to numerous Friends, wherein he was greatly deceived ; for the Friendship of so many noble Personages, with which he was intrenched, proved unable to defend him against the Resentment of a single Enemy.

VII.

Of the Causes of Friendship and Hatred.

IT is common to wonder at Dissentions among Brothers. Men usually imagine a strict Bond of Union should arise from Similarity of Temper ; and are therefore surprized to find Discord, Animosity, and Hatred, prevail among near Relations. But various useful Remarks may be made upon Man, by setting common Opinions aside, and consulting Experience. We find, in Fact, that Dissimilarity of Tempers, Studies, and Pursuits, frequently cements Friendship ; and that Sameness of Inclination frequently weakens or destroys it.

Similarity
not always
the Cause
of Affec-
tion.

When a sedate Temper meets with a brisk one ; a passionate Man with a quiet Woman ; an extravagant Husband with a frugal Wife, &c. the Bond of Union is rather strengthened than relaxed. And hence the ancient Poets illicitly coupled the delicate *Venus* with the boisterous *Mars*.

In Man
and Wife.

The Mildness of *Socrates* and the Tartness of *Xantippe*, made an excellent Mixture: for altho' their Matrimonial Happiness was clouded; yet, neither Party had any Inclination to separate. *Socrates's* Imprisonment and Death demonstrate that this Pair perfectly loved each other. Many a Man burns for a Lady; but when her Love grows hot to him, his grows cold to her, and so alternately; the Ice of the one kindling the Fire of the other. This Lesson Lovers are perfect in. And hence it appears, that opposite Tempers may excite and preserve Esteem; and similar Tempers banish and extinguish Love.

In similar
Qualifica-
tions.

That common Studies do not, of themselves, maintain Friendship, appears by numerous Instances. *Sejus*, a learned Man, hated *Caius*, for nothing but his Learning; and as soon as the latter ceased to study, the former ceased to hate him. The Enmity betwixt *Titus* and *Sempronius* was owing to their common Studies: they were both Divines; but when one of them laid aside Divinity, they presently became reconciled.

Similar
Virtues
and Vices.

People will despise their own Virtues, and censure their own Vices, in others. No body laughs at the Folly of another, so much as a Fool; no Man believes another so little, as a Liar; no People censure the Talkative more, than great Talkers. Misers daily condemn Covetousness; and Squanderers rail at Extravagance, in others. If one young Lady calls the Chastity of another in Question, she gives Suspicion of herself.

Jealousy
and Envy.

It may be alledged, that this Dislike does not arise from Similarity of Inclination, but from Envy

Envy and Jealousy ; and that one Miser hates another, one Lady of Pleasure another, only for interfering in Business. But such Causes, by no means, solve the Paradox : for the Hatred we speak of, not only reigns among People that are near, or present ; but even extends to a Distance. How can a Miser in *London* interfere with a Miser in *Paris* ; a Courtisane at *Paris* with another at *Venice* ; yet they will hate and despise each other ? The Envy of a Potter in *Europe* will stretch to an unknown Potter in *China*.

There are some Phænomena of Men, which it is hard to assign adequate Causes for ; and particularly why a frugal Person should censure Frugality in another ; why one Pedant should hate another, one Drunkard, one Liar, &c. condemn another ; when no clashing of Interest can be pretended. The Strangeness of Man shews itself in many Instances. On every Occasion, he despises his own good Qualities, and condemns his bad, if they appear in others. This, indeed, is a Paradox. However, it is certain, that Differences and Quarrels may arise from Similarity of Affections ; and that a Man may hate and despise another, for the very Vices and Virtues, which himself possesses.

It might indeed seem as if Men looked upon their own Virtues and Vices, as their Property or Possession ; and could not bear to see that Property transferred upon others ; from the acknowledged Possession of which, they imagine themselves entitled to Fame and Character, either good or bad. And in this View, Jealousy, Envy,

and Hatred may be used as paulty Weapons, to keep off Invaders: whilst Self-Love makes the Vicious hug even their Vices, as their Means of rising to infamous Reputation. But this does no Honour to human Nature: and whatever debases the Species ought, if possible, to be checked, reformed, or abolished.

A Letter to a timorous young Lady.

TAKE my Word for it, Madam, there is no Beast so fierce, no Man so couragious, but may meet with his Tamer. Nay, the highest spirited and most tyrannical, both among Brutes and Men, frequently submit and cringe to the lowest and weakest of Animals; as if Nature designed to shew us, how vain it is for Man to pride himself in his Strength, by subjecting Tyranny and Pride to Humility and Meekness; and giving the weaker Creatures Dominion over the stronger. The Lion reigns Monarch of the Forest, and strikes Terror into the fiercest Animals; yet drops his Crest, and runs at the Sight of a Mouse. The great Conquerors, who made the World tremble, have been commonly quelled by their Wives. *Hercules* was governed, like a Child, by *Omphale*. *Sampson* was a Slave to *Delilah*. The magnanimous *Achilles* wept for his fair *Briseis*. And History, both ancient and modern, abounds with Examples to the same Purpose.

In our own Times, an *English* General, who, by his Valour and Conduct, brought the greatest
Kingdom

Kingdom of *Europe* to the Brink of Destruction, was so governed by his Wife, that almost as many Satyrs have been published upon his domestic Tameness, as Panegyrics upon his Courage in the Field. The Character is general; and shews itself in whole Nations.

What People have more Bravery without Doors, and more Timidity in their Houses, than the *English*? Their Audacity is so great, as to affront Danger, Difficulty, Government, Laws, Punishment. *Englishmen* turn their Backs upon nothing; and frequently hang or drown, stab or shoot themselves. But tho' no Reason or Duty, no Law or Religion, can restrain this Ferocity; yet a Woman can wind them, like a Thread, about her; and lead them with a single Hair. The stubborn Metal that will not yield to the Fire and Hammer, is presently softened by its proper Flux, and rendered malleable. Hence, if instead of penal Laws, *Englishmen* were threatened with the Resentment of their Wives, it might possibly have a greater Effect upon them, than their numerous Statutes, made and provided, to keep them within the Limits of Reason. For, these Lions of Men are as tame as Lambs before their angry Wives.

The *Italians* are submissive abroad; but Tyrants in their own Houses. They stoop and cringe to Strangers; but brave it in their Families. An *Italian* Apartment is an Eastern Seraglio in Miniature; where the Wife sees the Face of no Stranger, without Permission.

Contentious Men commonly make peaceable Husbands; and quarrellsome Husbands peaceable Subjects. A Coward in the Street makes a blustering Hero in his own Parlour; whilst he, who, at his Wife's Command, will tend the Nursery, is not to be joked with abroad.

And now, dear Madam, I hope you will see, that your Dread of the General is groundless; and are ready to make good your Engagement with him. The Accounts you have heard of his gallant Behaviour in the Field, instead of striking you with Terror, and setting you against him, should make you chuse him: for there is Reason to expect he will prove as tender a Husband, as he is a brave Officer. I knew a Serjeant, reputed one of the boldest Fellows in the Garrison where he served; yet made a tame, good-natured Husband. His Widow afterwards married a Smith, who has patiently taken more than one Box on the Ear from his Neighbours; but gives his Wife no Quarter: so that I question whether he has not bestowed more Blows upon her, than he has lately done upon his Anvil.

I do not bind myself for the General's Behaviour: but this I am sure of, that your Apprehension of him is groundless; and that his being a good Officer can never excuse your breaking your Word with him.

VIII.

Of Union and Discord.

IT is a general Opinion that nothing promotes The Advantages of Union. Happiness, or establishes human Affairs, so much as Concord; which, like Cement in a Building, fastens all Things together, both in public and private Societies. The ancient Poets reckoned Discord among the infernal Deities; but Temples were erected to the Honour of Concord. *Parvæ Res Concordiâ crescunt*, is the Motto of some Republics: and we justly pray for Unity, Peace, and Concord; on account of the noble Effects they produce. It might pass for Wick- edness to plead in Favour of Discord; and I would, by no means, be supposed of Council in so bad a Cause. I only beg leave to mention some Effects of Concord and Discord, from whence others may judge of their real Use to Mankind.

Whoever examines Ecclesiastical and Civil Its Disadvantages. History, or consults Experience, will find bad Effects proceeding from Quiet, and Union; and good ones from Debate, and Contention. In the middle Age, Peace reigned in the Christian Church; but at the same time Ignorance prevailed, and spread thro' the People like a Gangrene. The Church was then unanimous in Sentiment; and no Man took upon him to enquire after Truth. The Light of Nature was rejected. What the Popes ordered to be believed

was implicitly received, without examining. Orthodoxy then signified, the renouncing of Sense and Reason. Persons of the first Quality could seldom write their own Names; but were contented to set their Marks. Even *Carolus Magnus*, who had great mental Abilities, never learned to write; and his Son, *Ludovicus Pius*, having Occasion to sign an Instrument of Consequence, in the Presence of several Bishops, was obliged to send for Pen and Ink from the Chancellor's; there being no such Thing in the Palace. Even the Prelates of those Times were grossly ignorant. A Bishop frequently signed for his Brother Bishop, who could not write; and it was reckoned great Learning, to recite the Official by Heart.

Such was the State of Things in the peaceable Times of the Church: but when this Reign of Union ended, Strife and Contest succeeded; which fanned up some Sparks of Knowledge, that had long lain buried in the Ashes of Quiet. It now blew a Storm, which, tho' it threw all Things into Confusion, dispelled the Mist of Ignorance, and opened Men's Understandings. If we compare the preceding peaceable Reign with those tumultuary Times that succeeded, we shall judge it more useful to live like Men at Variance, than like tame Brutes in Unity.

Advantages of
Discord in
Government.

In Civil Affairs, such good Effects have been found from Discord, that some Princes made *Divide et impera* their Motto. Intelligent Rulers have often sown the Seeds of Discord in their Council, and sometimes among the People; and Party has thus been checked by Party, Govern-
ment

ment secured, Conspiracies discovered, and Prosperity promoted.

Under the ancient *Roman* Republic, the People indeed suffered many Misfortunes, whilst Discord reigned among the principal Governors; but they felt greater Hardships when Peace and Unity prevailed. The Civil Wars were ended by the Triumvirate; but upon this followed Banishments, Murders, Licentiousness, Corruption, and the Ruin of the Republic; so that the Triumvirate, tho' called the Bulwark of the Commonwealth, seems rather erected for its Destruction. And numerous Instances might be produced to the same Purpose.

In œconomical Affairs, and the Conduct of Families, we frequently find no better Effects of Unity. *Petronius* cries out, *Malè eveniat Ædilibus, qui cum Pistoribus colludunt: serva me, & servabo te; itaque Populus minutus laborat.* And *œconomy.*

Who was a better *œconomist* than the elder *Cato*? But he grew so alarmed at the Peace and Quietness that reigned among his Servants, as to think his Family in Danger, because they were all of one Mind. Many have taken this Hint; and prevented Combinations, Cabals and Mischiefs, projected against Families. When prudent Gentlemen observe Differences arise betwixt their Stewards and Tenants, they will prevent Matters from coming to Extremities; but rather moderate, than determine the Disputes. Open War would here be incommodious, and perfect Harmony hurtful. It is every Master's Duty to preserve Peace in his Family; yet Experience

rience shews, it is not amiss to keep up some little Jealousies among Servants; as Means to come at the Truth. A Judge may draw right Information from the Wrangling of the Lawyers.

Objections I am not pleading the Cause of Vice, or dissuading from Virtue. I acknowledge that Peace and Union ought to be recommended; so far as they tend to promote Happiness. But as most Men are prone to Evil; Peace and Concord are not of such great and general Use, as those may imagine, who take Mankind, not for what they are, but for what they should be. We must not desire Mankind to possess any Thing permanently, but what may be of permanent Use to them.

Peace and Unity are not Things to be wished among Cheats and Robbers. All Societies of bad Men are Gangs of Conspirators. If Men could be truly united to a good End, or the Promotion of general Happiness, nothing is more devoutly to be wished than Union. But, taking Men as they are, much less Mischief happens to the World from Discord, than if all Mankind should join in Vice and Wickedness.

The Law indulgently supposes every Man honest, till the contrary is proved; but Experience shews, that Men should be supposed dishonest, till the contrary appears. Disagreement may sometimes prove more advantageous to Mankind, than Agreement. Perhaps Union as often promotes Folly and Wickedness; as Discord prevents Ignorance and Vice.

IX.

Of conferring Favours.

BENEFITS conferred may be equally great, yet produce different Effects. The Manner of conferring will often render a small Present more acceptable than a large one. A ready Hand is more pleasing than a full one. A forced Favour loses of its Grace and Merit; and a stale one may prove no Favour at all. Backwardness in Bounty is mean and disgustful. He gives double who gives quick. Gifts are never esteemed so much for their own Sake, as for shewing the benign Disposition of the Giver.

The Manner of conferring Favours.

Artaxerxes, King of *Persia*, travelling one time over his Kingdom; his Subjects, according to the Custom of the Country, every where met him upon the Road with Presents. Some brought Corn, others Wine, and the Poor brought Fruit. A certain Man, by Name *Sincetas*, whose Hut the King passed by, was so poor, that he had nothing to give; but rather than let the King go unpresented, he ran to a Spring, took up some Water in both his Hands, and offered it to his Majesty; with the most zealous Prayers and hearty good Wishes. The King was extremely moved at this Sight; and received the well-meant Present, with a greater Manifestation of Acceptance, than all the rest; and ordered the poor good Man a Reward.

The Mind of the Giver stamps Value upon the Gift. Perhaps, the Sum lately bequeathed, by the Will of a private Person, to the Empress Queen, might give her more internal Joy, than the large Subsidies of *England* and *Holland*. A small free Gift, voluntarily conferred, unites Mind to Mind much stronger, than great Advantages obtained by Petition. Those who desire to oblige, privately enquire what Things their Friends stand in need of, or would prove most acceptable; in order to supply their Wants, and gratify their Wishes unexpectedly. If we wait till we are asked, the Present becomes vapid. A Gift cannot then appear frank and generous; how much soever the Giver may colour it with external Signs of Generosity and Gladness. But if the Giver appears unwilling to part with his Gift; or if it cleaves to his Fingers; it proves a more disgustful Thing, than a civil Refusal. There is great Efficacy in the Manner of doing a Thing. Not only a civil Denial, but even a Burthen, an Inconvenience, a Trouble, laid by one Friend upon another, may prove more pleasing than a Present made with an ill Grace.

It requires Prudence, on many Occasions, to confer Benefits, or make Presents, in a proper Manner; especially where Women are concerned: because, among other Effects of a Present, it is apt to bring Ill-will, from others, upon the Giver. To shew that one Woman is preferred to another, in Point of Civility, Esteem or Friendship, may prove dangerous. This *Paris* found, in giving the
golden

golden Apple to *Venus* ; whereby he enraged two other Goddeſſes againſt him. The Philoſopher *Ariſtippus* was wiſer ; for, when King *Dionyſius* offered him his Choice of three young Ladies, he choſe them all ; for fear of provoking any one of them.

The Benefits conferred by Superiors, upon Inferiors or Dependents, commonly produce ſuitable Returns. Reſpect and Gratitude are preſerved or improved ; prior Obligations ſtrengthened ; and Diligence and Obedience increaſed, in proportion to judicious Rewards. The Good that deſcends from thoſe above us, is always pleaſing, creates no new Obligations, but corroborates the old. All Bleſſings from Heaven are extremely agreeable to Man : they improve our Love, quicken our Duty, and augment the Gratitude we before owed to the Creator.

The Caſe is otherwiſe when we do Good to our Equals. Equals ; for, this turns Friendſhip and Equality, into a kind of Superiority on one Side, and Subjection on the other ; deſtroys the Equilibrium that before exiſted ; throws the Receiver below his Rank ; takes away his Freedom, or lays him under an Obligation. Benefits and Preſents between Equals rather produce Coldneſs and Aversion, than Love or Friendſhip ; becauſe the Bond of Union is thus altered into a Chain of Subjection. Of this we have many Examples ; though generally overlooked by the Vulgar ; who think the Thing ſtrange or incomprehenſible. Every Man holds it juſt and right to obey his Superior ; but hard to ſerve his Equal or Inferior : whence
arife

arise Coolness, Envy, and Hatred, rather than Friendship. If one Brother be promoted to a high Rank, and another be left as he was; the former Equality being destroyed, their Love begins to diminish: and, how much soever the neglected Brother may seem to rejoice at the Promotion of the other; yet this Joy is seldom real, but only put on, as a Mask to cover Dislike.

Gratitude. I would discourage no Mortal from doing good Offices to his Equals: I hold it to be an eternal Virtue for Men to endeavour the Welfare of each other; and would have the Practice encouraged universally. I am only pointing out what Effects are generally produced by some Services done to our Equals; and heartily lament the Weakness and Imperfection of our Nature. The less kindly Effect our Endeavours to do Good produce, the greater is the Merit of the Benefactor; or the nearer to heroical, disinterested Virtue. I would abolish that odious Vice of Ingratitude; and encourage all the World to be grateful. A Benefit is a Benefit, let who will confer it; and requires Acknowledgment, Gratitude and Love, come it from Superior, Inferior, or Equal.

Gifts of Inferiors. Benefits conferred by Inferiors upon their Superiors, have a still stranger and more infallible Effect; as might be illustrated by a much greater Number of Examples. Superiors require to be obeyed, and will scarce be obliged, by Inferiors. As we seem to lose Part of our Freedom by receiving Benefits from Equals; Superiors seem to lose Part of their Superiority, by receiving a Benefit from Inferiors. Perhaps the Gratitude of
Superiors

Superiors, for Benefits received, flows more from Pride than Affection; as they presume all Goodness shewn them, proceeds from Duty, not Choice; and therefore receive but little Pleasure from it. Many had rather assist Strangers than Relations; because Strangers acknowledge the Favour, and are obliged by it; whilst Relations look upon it only as a Debt, and a Duty, due to Consanguinity.

Those who presume to oblige their Superiors, by Duty, Service, or Money, in hopes of Reward, should soon close their Accounts: for I find in all History, both ancient and modern, astonishing Numbers of unrewarded Subjects, pleading their great Merit, and Liberality to Sovereigns and Superiors, with self-tormenting, fruitless Expectations, and an increasing Detriment to themselves and Families.

X.

Of Avarice and Extravagance.

AMONG the many Properties of human Nature, which almost exceed Comprehension, comes the Parsimony of the Rich, and the Extravagance of the Poor. Some rich Men spare to-day, as if they feared starving to-morrow; and the Indigent often consume in an Hour, what they may feel the Want of for a Year. These Properties are the more unaccountable, because

Extravagancy and Parsimony.

because Parsimony is chiefly found to predominate in old People, who may expect Death every Day; and Extravagance chiefly in the young, who may reasonably hope to live long: as if old People hoarded Money, because they cannot want it; and young ones threw it away, because it is necessary to their Subsistence. This Conduct must be ascribed to the inconsiderate Passions, or Folly of Man: for I can see no Sense or Reason in it.

The De-
fire of
Getting.

I have weighed the Arguments, which rich old Men employ to defend their Parsimony; and find them mere Pretexts. It is certainly absurd, that a Man should make great Preparations for a long Journey, when he is just at the End of it.

Providing
for a Fa-
mily.

The Father of a Family indeed may, with some Appearance of Reason, defend his Frugality, as necessary to provide for his Children. This Argument of a Father for saving, generally passes for just: but if truly considered, it will often be found a Colour, put on to conceal a Vanity.

I cannot approve of those, who make the natural Relations betwixt Parents and Children, to be merely imaginary. I abominate the Behaviour of *Aristippus*, who, being reminded of his Duty to his Children, as Parts of himself, spit upon the Ground, and cried, "That also is Part of me." The Person mentioned by *Plutarch* spoke unlike a Philosopher, when being admonished of his Obligation to his Brother, replied, "The Obligation consists merely in this, that we both
" came

“came by the same Road into the World.” Nor will I suppose, with certain Philosophers, that the Relationship betwixt Husband and Wife, Father and Children, ceases after Death; or that such human Regards take no Place in another Life. I am far from going these Lengths: because such Doctrines, if they could be proved, might produce Neglect and Carelessness in the World, to the great Prejudice of human Affairs. It is just and proper to abide even by certain Weaknesses, which tend to support Society, and promote Felicity.

Careful Observers, who suffer not themselves to be dazzled with Appearances, rest assured that our chief Duty to our Children, is to give them a suitable and good Education; and that the leaving them possessed of great Wealth, may turn more to their Prejudice than Advantage. A moderate Fortune, left to Children, excites their Industry, tends to improve their Understandings, and in some measure obliges them to become useful Members of Society.

Experience shews, that the providing for a Wife and Children, is usually no more than a Pretence for Avarice. If it was a true Reason, Men would set certain Bounds to themselves; and only acquire such an Estate, as might support the proper Expence of their Heirs: whereas, in Fact, the Desire of getting is unlimited; and he who possesses an hundred thousand Pounds, is as anxious to acquire more, as he who is worth but a Thousand. And hence an old married Man defends his Desire of getting, with as sorry Arguments

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ments as an old Batchelor. They both add Interest to Principal, without seeing why ; and they would both do better to acknowledge their Vanity, than make use of Arguments that cannot excuse it. Our Nature is such, that as soon as we set a-part a Sum, which we do not design to touch, there presently arises in our Minds a Desire, to augment it : and the greater the Principal is, the more attractive it becomes ; according to the Law of Gravitation, found in the Physical World. *M. Crassus* was one of the richest Subjects we know of ; but his Parsimony and Wealth increased proportionally. *Plutarch* relates, that this *Crassus* had every Day a Philosopher at his House ; and used to lend him a Hat, to screen him from the Sun, in their Walks ; but never once forgot to ask for the Hat again, when the Walk was ended.

We daily hear Avarice complained of, censured, and reprov'd ; and the Inconveniences, Plagues, and Dangers of Riches represented in the strongest Manner ; yet the Miser continues a Miser still. He thinks the Exclamation of Men against Riches, resembles the Fox's Contempt of the Grapes ; and sees those who preach the keenest against Wealth, do not sink out of its Way ; but willingly accept of the Load, when offered, with all its Incumbrances. Nay, these Despisers of Wealth commonly grow anxious about it, when once they have got it : and then find the Temptations and Allurements of Riches not so easy to combat as they imagined.

I cannot discover an adequate Cause of Covetousness. What should move a Man to undergo Trouble, Anxiety, and Disquietude, in raking up Money, not for himself, but another, perhaps a Profligate, or even an Enemy? I therefore attribute this Passion to the Folly of Man; which, we see, may sometimes rise so high as to make some Misers actually starve themselves. Avarice, in such a Degree, is a shocking Disease; and properly compared to that Dropsy, wherein the more a Man drinks, the more thirsty he grows, and the sooner he dies. Nay, this Disease is like Witchcraft; for the Miser does not possess his Money, but his Money possesses him. Hence, tho' Covetousness be an odious Failing, it seems a Characteristic of Man, as a Creature that does not know himself.

We do not usually distinguish betwixt the squandering and hoarding kind of Avarice; and therefore use the same Word to express both these Passions; which are not only different, but opposite Vices. The hoarding Miser neglects, but the squandering Miser takes Care of his Health. The Hoarder punishes only himself, but the Squanderer punishes the Public. The Hoarder is not so anxious to scrape for more, as to watch over what he has got; whence his Avarice becomes his Torment. The Hoarder may be esteemed an innocent Subject, in comparison of the Squanderer, who throws away with one Hand, what he gets with the other; and employs all sorts of Means, lawful and unlawful, to raise a Fund for supporting his daily Extravagance.

The
hoarding
and squandering
Miser.

The Temper which *Sallust* ascribes to *Catiline*, *alieni appetens*, *sui profusus*, is common to the whole Tribe of squandering Misers; who are obliged to be rapacious, in order to squander. It happens to these Squanderers as to feverish Persons; who, by their Heat, and too great Expence of Juices, are constantly obliged to drink.

Hoarding Avarice is the more rare and absurd; but squandering Avarice more common and hurtful. Hoarding Avarice is a mysterious Passion, unintelligible as to its Cause, and affords a Specimen of human Folly; but squandering Avarice is easy to understand, and shews an Example of human Vice. Indeed, both deserve Chastisement: hoarding Avarice by Shame and oral Reproof; but the squandering Avarice by corporal Punishment.

Men commonly confound Stinginess with these kinds of Avarice; and the *French* denote them by the same Word *l'Avarice*; whence *Harpagon*, in *Moliere's* excellent Comedy, is called *l'Avaré*; tho' his Character be that of a Niggard.

There are different Kinds of squandering Avarice. Some prove, at the same time, both Hoarders and Squanderers; tho' such Instances are rare: for we commonly find, that the squandering Miser is as little disposed to keep what he gets; as the hoarding Miser is to part with it.

There is another Error frequently committed in the Description of Covetousness. A Man may be so generous, as rather to deserve the Name of-

extravagant; yet pass in the World for a Miser: another shall save every Shilling, and yet be thought generous. These kind of Judgments are not formed from the Quantity, but the Manner of the Expence. It is customary to judge of a Man's Expences by his Cellar and Kitchen; so that if his Table be well served, he acquires the Reputation of a generous Man, among those who do not reflect, that Money must also be laid out upon other Occasions. He who purchases Books, Pictures, Statues, or other Productions of Artificers, shall be called a covetous Man; and he who contributes to the Support chiefly of Taverns, shall acquire the Character of generous.

The poor Squanderer is a stranger Phenomenon than the rich Miser. It is hard to understand why any Man should watch over a Treasure, which he never designs to use; but much more difficult, to comprehend how a Man should, in Opposition to the certain Foreknowledge of his Poverty, the Contempt of the World, Imprisonment, and other impending Misfortunes, never think, even to the last, of curbing his Extravagance. If Covetousness resemble a Dropsy, Extravagance resembles Madness: and it would be as just to prescribe Laws for Extravagants, as Guardians to Idiots. When this Vice comes to its Height, it proves destructive to Society: for, an Extravagant, like the Breaking of a Banker, not only hurts himself, but ruins Numbers. It is incomprehensible how any rational Creature should be totally subdued by this Passion. Profuseness, indeed, sometimes acquires the Appel-

Extravagance of the Poor.

lation of Generosity; and the Extravagant, so long as he remains possessed of his Estate, is highly esteemed and caressed by Parasites and Flatterers. And this Adulation may be some Motive to the Extravagant; but should not a certain Fore-sight of his Misfortunes be some Check upon him too? Poverty and Want are sure to fall heavy upon him. The Extravagant has nothing to expect but the extremest Hardships, after his quick Transition from a King to a Beggar. I can find no rational Motive for this Extravagance; at least for that Part of it, consisting in Pomp, and Show, and Equipage, which afford little Advantage; and chiefly serve to make the Fall more conspicuous. Yet how many Gentlemen are thus metamorphosed into Beggars? We daily see young Flaunters in gilt Chariots, dashing the Dirt upon wiser People; then presently afterwards walking the Streets, and receiving the Dirt of others.

The Hoarder and Squanderer compared.

The hoarding Miser torments himself; and the Spendthrift punishes the Innocent. The Hoarder heaps up for others; and the Prodigal scatters what others had heaped. The Hoarder thinks so much of the Time to come, as to forget the present; the Squanderer has his Thoughts so taken up with the Present, as to neglect the Future. The first lives as if he was never to die; and the last as if he had but a Day to enjoy. Both are unprofitable Members of Society: the one occasioning a Stoppage in the Circulation; and the other an Hæmorrhage. The hoarding Miser is like

like a Fog that infects the Air : the Prodigal resembles an outrageous Storm, that overturns all in its Way. The Hoarder passes restless Nights, tho' he has nothing to fear ; the Squanderer sleeps sound, and leaves want of Repose to his Creditors. The hoarding Miser is a ridiculous Creature ; and the Prodigal a noxious Animal.

XI.

Of Ambition and Meanness.

I Here mean not to speak of Rank, or Precedency ; but only to lay open an Error daily committed, by calling that Ambition or Greatness, which may more justly be termed Meanness or Baseness. To illustrate this Point, I shall produce two Persons from ancient History. Both *Alexander* and *Cæsar* were immoderately ambitious ; but not with the same Propriety.

Ambition
and Baseness.

Alexander took the strait Road to Fame, by braving Misfortunes, Difficulties, and Dangers ; determined rather to fall, than recede a Step ; rather to lose the Whole, than give up the least Part. But *Cæsar*, to become great, debased himself immoderately ; stooped to little mean Actions ; and, to get Dominion over his Equals, suffered even his Inferiors to tread upon him ; flattered the Scum of the People, and sacrificed true Glory to an empty Name. This is not Ambition, but extreme Baseness.

Alexander
and Cæsar.

Indeed, an ambitious Man is no good Man ; if by Tyranny and Bloodshed he forces his Way to Greatness : but to practise Baseness in paving the Way to it, is acting out of the Character of Ambition ; and directly contrary to its Nature. If *Alexander* had found no other Means but these, to make himself Great ; he would never have obtained his End : for as his lofty Soul could not stoop to Baseness ; or condescend to work with mean Tools ; nor even to gain a Victory by flying and facing ; his Ambition would have conquered itself ; and made him renounce conquering the World. *Cæsar* was not so delicate ; no Road was too dirty for him ; he shewed no Regard to Right and Wrong ; he used Craft and Subtilty, Diffimulation and Flattery, bowed down to the Wicked, and courted the Mob, in hopes of rising ; he wallowed in Baseness, to arrive at Power ; and crawled thro' the Mire to the Throne. *Alexander*, with a high Crest, always similar to himself, goes on Majestic ; as if his Motto was, “ I could use other Means to accomplish my Ends ; “ if I were *Parmenio*, and not *Alexander*.” A Man may commit horrid Crimes to gratify his Lust of Ambition ; yet not stoop to any Mortal ; or practise low, groveling Arts, to arrive at his Ends. It is wrong to call any Man ambitious, who servilely changes himself into the basest Shapes ; and obtains a Title or Post, by sacrificing real Honour to nothing but its Shadow,

Difference
of Ambition,

The haughty ambitious Man, and the low proud Man, are different Characters ; tho' commonly

monly confounded. They both deserve Reproof, but of different Kinds. The haughty ambitious Man uses all but base Means, to rise in Life ; but he will not fawn, to become a Lord ; he will not beg, tho' to make himself rich ; nor bear to be trampled on by some, in order to rule over others. But the mean proud Aspirer fights all the Weapons, even the basest ; bears Scoffs and Contempts ; behaves like a Slave ; crawls like a Worm ; and tamely suffers Indignities.

There were two Brothers ; the one a Governor, Base
Pride. the other a Citizen. The one was called ambitious, because he strove after Places and Preferments ; the other was thought to have no Ambition, because he continued a plain Citizen. The ambitious Brother got acquainted with the Footmen of a Nobleman ; and by that Means gained Admittance into the House. Being once entered, he used, in the Absence of the Nurse, to rock the Cradle ; in the Absence of the Maids, to sweep out the Rooms ; and, when no Footman was in the Way, he would brush my Lord's Cloaths : by which ready Address, he acquired the Favour both of the Lord and my Lady. When he had obtained some Footing, he made little Panegyrics, and congratulatory Poems upon the Births and Christenings of the Children, and other joyful Occasions of the Family ; and rose to such a Height of Favour, as to be admitted to dine with my Lord. Now he studied the Turn and Temper of his Patron, in order to regulate his own Behaviour ; he ap-
proved

proved of nothing but what pleased his Lordship ; and squaring his Religion and his Conscience to that Model, became the Favourite of the Family. Lastly, he obtained a Promise of Marriage from my Lady's Woman ; upon which, both the Patron and Patronefs regarding his Welfare as their own, never ceased solliciting, till they procured a Title for him. And, thus, the Comedy ended in a Wedding.

Noble and
mean Am-
bition. All this while the Citizen continued to support himself by his Trade and Labour ; and will always remain what he is, a worthy Man ; but the other, a contemptible Creature : for their different Manners shew, that tho' the one is more raised, the other is the more honourable ; and that he who was said to have no Ambition, is ten times more nobly ambitious than his Brother. A Title can never wash out the Stain of Servility. It happens with such low Creatures, as, by the common Proverb, with Apes ; the more they struggle, or the higher they climb, the more they discover their odious Failings.

It is a Mistake to think, that a Petitioner for Honours and Titles is nobly ambitious ; this being always a Sign of a groveling Mind. Such Petitioners resemble common Beggars ; the Difference lying only in this, that one begs out of Necessity, and the other from Vanity. A *Spanish* Nobleman, who prefers Hunger to Labour, and Starving to the Staining of his Blood, may justly be called proud. Such a Nobleman has ten times more Ambition than a *Cæsar*, a *Pompey*, or a *Crassus* ; for, tho' the noble *Spaniard* would desire to be a
Cæsar,

Cæsar, yet he would not tread in *Cæsar's* Steps to arrive at *Cæsar's* Station. His only Wish, when starving, is to have been born a Commoner; that he might have laboured for his Living, with Reputation.

XII.

The Character of a Courtier ;

In a Letter to a Philosopher.

AMONG all the Creatures, there is none stranger than Man ; and among all Men, there is none so strange as a Courtier. Man is the Quintessence of the Oddities of the World ; and a Courtier is the Quintessence of the Oddities of Men. It is hard to describe a Man ; but impossible to describe a Courtier ; for his Irregularities are as irreducible as the Moon's. He is like *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, composed of different Substances : his Head is of Glass ; his Hair of Gold ; his Hands of Pitch ; his Body of Limestone ; his Heart, part Iron, part Clay ; his Legs of Straw ; and his Blood a Mixture of Water and Quicksilver ; where sometimes Heat, sometimes Cold predominates ; sometimes Acid, sometimes Alkali ; sometimes Bile, and sometimes Phlegm. His Composition is so strange, that the Courtier neither knows himself, nor can be understood by others. It can scarce be determined what Class
he

he belongs to ; whether Birds, Beasts, Men, Spirits, or Bodies. We must therefore content ourselves with a bare Sketch, and set an Inscription over it, “ This is a Courtier ;” as unskilful Painters write over their Pictures, “ This is a Man, “ this is a Horse,” &c ; for there is no reading a Cypher without the Key.

But, notwithstanding the Difficulty to assign the Class of this wonderful Phænomenon ; in some respects it plainly resembles a Man : for the Courtier has a Body ; and even a Soul : nay, he has more Souls than one. We may fairly say, that all the Properties to be found separately in other Men, are concentrated in his single Person ; so that as Man is called the Microcosm, or Miniature, of the World ; the Courtier may be called the Microcosm, or Miniature of Man. He is a Being that, at the same time, is wise and foolish, thoughtful and prating, avaricious and liberal, humble and proud, hot and cold, courageous and cowardly, merry and sad, active and passive, frightened and frightening, promising all Things and performing nothing : in short, he at once both thrives and withers ; and sighs over the Chains which he purposely forged for himself.

And all these Qualities do not appear alternately, or by Fits and Starts, but exist, after a wonderful Manner, at the self-same Instant in the Courtier. He wears many Masks. He has the Face of a Lyon, and a Hare ; a Snake, and a Dove ; a Wolf, and a Lamb, &c. If we look upon him on one Side, he appears wise and thoughtful ; so that we read, as it were, these

Words ;

Words on his Forehead : “ Let all your Actions
 “ be wise ; and regard the End.” Indeed the
 slippery Station he stands in, requires uncommon
 Prudence ; which being taught at Courts, they
 are properly called “ the Schools of Wisdom.”

If we view him on the other Side, we find
 nothing but Stupidity. However he takes extreme
 Care to have his Cloaths fine, his Hair curled,
 and his Feet in a proper Attitude ; so that it costs
 less Pains to draw the Map of a Country, than a
 Courtier bestows upon forming his Person, and
 Carriage. Indeed his Person, Apparel, Gesture,
 and Discourse, are constantly adjusted to the
 Mode, be that ever so silly or inconvenient. He
 never troubles himself about the Matter of his
 Discourse, but only the Manner ; and uses the
 fashionable Phrase and Accent : for particular
 Forms of Speech, and insignificant Compliments,
 are the only Things meant by Discourse at Court.

Courtiers in Latin are called *Magnates*, and
 we may properly term them Magnets ; for they
 have the attractive Virtue of the Load-Stone, in
 respect to Metal ; with this Difference, that
 Magnets attracts only Iron, but the *Magnates*
 Gold and Silver. A Courtier, indeed, does
 not attract either, in order to keep it ; but on
 purpose to let it go again ; like Smokers,
 who suck in the Fume of Tobacco, to puff it
 out. And tho’ much Treasure comes into
 his Coffers, yet they are always leaky, and com-
 monly empty : whence we see, he has the two
 opposite Qualities, Covetousness and Liberali-
 ty, in equal Degree.

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He has likewise Pride and Meanness, both in Extremes. He submits to be trod upon, that he may tread upon others. He acts the Part of Horse and Rider in one Person: he is rode by his Superiors, that he may ride his Inferiors. Hence he is a Mixture of Tameness and Ferocity; Suppleness and Tyranny; Pride and Humility; Ambition and Meanness; and therefore we may say, that as Nature made him for the Service of others, his Passion is to domineer in Revenge. On one Side he has no Will of his own, but is like a Machine, moved by the Wheel of the Court; so that we can see by his Countenance, as by a Weather-Cock, what Wind it blows at Court: for, according as Matters go there, he exactly squares his Thoughts, his Taste, his Humours, his Appetites, and his Religion. But he expects to have every body's Will regulated according to his own; and wears this for his Motto, "*Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro Ratione Voluntas.*" And hence, a Courtier is equally passive and active.

He is continually in Fear himself, and, at the same time, strikes Terror into others; and may justly say, "*Flammas moveoque feroque;*" whence it is difficult to determine, whether he more deserves to be hated for his own Fears, or for those he occasions to others. We are certain of his Promises, but uncertain of his Performances. The Promise of a Courtier is that kind of Deed, which the Maker can alter, as often as he pleases, without Infamy. And therefore no body trusts his Promises; partly on account of the hazardous

dous Situation of the Promiser; and partly of the Transformations to which he is subject: for a Courtier is a King to day, and a Cat to-morrow. He is like a Mushroom, that shoots up in the Night, and withers in the Day; and often seems born for nothing, but to die.

The strangest part of his Character is, that he laments and sighs over the Chains, which he voluntarily makes, and puts on for himself. What is more common than to hear a Courtier complain of his Situation, and miserably bewail his Sufferings; extolling those as happy, who are released from Court-Slavery? Yet, we see him perpetually striving, with Might and Main, to continue in this very self-same wretched Situation. He begs, and sighs, and prays to be delivered out of his Prison; but when the Door stands open, to give him his Liberty, he works with Hands and Feet to shut it, and keep himself in. Nay, many of these strange Creatures die for Grief, as soon as ever their darling Liberty is granted them. A Courtier herein resembles a fond Lover, who, having just broke with his Mistress, stands continually at her Door, begging, with great Contrition, to be re-admitted. In the same Manner, this strange Creature, when once in Possession of his Liberty, employs all the Artillery of Craft, Prayer, Sighs, Lamentations, Tears and Contrition, to purchase his old Slavery again. And, upon being re-admitted a Prisoner, all the Trouble and Anxiety he groan'd under, immediately changes to the highest Joy;

Joy, which continually dances before his Eyes ; whilst the Freedom and Dismission he so earnestly wished for, now appear to him no other than Imprisonment, Fetters, and Torture.

This Description, my Friend, you may perhaps think too severe, or carried beyond the Truth ; and I confess it to be a high-coloured Piece : but I was unwilling to conceal any thing from you, after you had frankly opened to me your Intention of procuring a Place at Court. I, therefore, beg you to consider, whether your Ship is fit to sail in such a troubled Ocean. It appears to me, that you do not rightly judge of yourself ; nor the Nature of the Country, where you desire to be an Inhabitant. What can *Saul* do among the Prophets ? No body doubts of your Merit : but what is Virtue in one Place, is thought Vice in another. Here it will be at your Peril, to square your Conduct with that of the Society, wherein you would enter a Member. Consider, whether your Temper and Inclination suit with such a Climate. I believe the thick Air you now live in, will agree better with your Constitution. He that has always lived in a Marsh, should live there still. A Fish lives best under Water ; a Mole under Ground ; and a Bat in the Dark. A clear and piercing Air, which is reviving to some, proves pernicious to others. And that kind of Light which helps the Sight of one, weakens the Eyes of another. A Philosopher lives best in the Shade. Ancient Fables tell us, that midnight Ghosts immediately turn to Stone, if they see the
Sun :

Sun: and I greatly fear some such Change would happen to you, upon seeing that brilliant Place a Court; which might make my good Friend a Supplement to *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Therefore, again, consider, before you embark on this Expedition. If you still persist, I heartily wish you a prosperous Voyage; tho' I am thoroughly convinced, you will soon repent of the desperate Undertaking.

I am &c.

I hope my Reader will not suspect me of levelling this Character against all Courtiers; because then he must suspect me of Injustice, as well as Folly: since History, both ancient and modern, furnishes Examples of Courtiers, who have distinguished themselves by their Good-Sense and Virtue; and done Honour to their Country. My Characters are not designed to disparage, or debase; but to instruct, and inform. And all Characters admit of Exceptions.

XIII.

Of Physic and Physicians.

THERE is no denying that Medicines The Im- have a Virtue; and that numerous Diseases perfection are cured by them. That they so often fail, is of Physic. not so much owing to the Remedies, as to the superficial Knowledge we have of the human Body. A great Physician assures us, the human

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Constitution.

Constitution is as little known as the *Terra Australis*; whose Coasts we are not hitherto acquainted with. And hence a Medicine which proves serviceable to one, proves pernicious to another; and what operates at one time, produces no Effect at another. This we find not only in different People, of apparently different Constitutions; but even in the same Constitutions, and in the same Persons, at different times. For the same Medicine shall sometimes operate well, sometimes ill, sometimes too much, sometimes too little, or not at all, even upon the same Person. It is no Wonder the Seed should miscarry, when the Nature of the Soil is not known. The Constitution of Man is a Mystery, a *Proteus*, which changes its Nature so much, as not to remain the same to Day, that it was Yesterday, or will be To-morrow. And this so far confounds all medicinal Rules, that a Physician is like a Man married to a phantastical Lady, whom he can never suit; because she changes her Temper every hour,

Cures

It would be going too far to say, that all Cures are owing to Nature, Accident, or Good-Luck; but I believe it is true of the greatest part of them: for I am satisfied, it happens with Physicians as it does with Fortune-tellers, who prophesy so long, and so differently, that they hit right at last. As Fortune-tellers come into Vogue, by a lucky Accident or two; Physicians often get into Practice and Fashion, for the Fame of Cures they had no Share in; but were either performed by Nature, Accident, or the Patient's working Imagination.

A certain Author defines a Doctor to be a Man who writes Prescriptions, till the Patient either dies, or is cured by Nature. And, accordingly, the ancient *Greeks* had a Saying, that "Doctors were Triflers." Indeed I by no Means subscribe to these Definitions; because numerous great Cures may be produced, and so evidently proved, that, next after God, they must be ascribed to Physic. I only say, that Physicians frequently obtain a Name, for Cures performed by Nature, by Accident, or by Help of the Patient's Imagination. The last Physician in a Case, is usually thought the best; not because he understands his Art better; but because he had the good Luck to be called in, when the Disease was declining, and Nature began to assist herself. This the People do not observe, and, therefore, sometimes, unjustly blame the best Physicians, and, undeservedly, praise the worst; by ascribing that to the last Doctor, which was the Effect of Time or Nature.

After the same erroneous Manner, People generally ascribe that to Art, which was owing to Accident. For, a Fever may often be checked by Alterations made in the Mind, or Thoughts, of the Patient; or by other casual Circumstances. Many Diseases may be changed, or even cured by the Passions, as Surprize, Joy, strong Expectation, &c; of which there are numerous Instances: yet in such Cases, the ignorant Multitude give all the Credit to the Doctor; tho' he did no more than visit the Patient, without pre-

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scribing

scribing, at the Time. This is betraying as gross Ignorance as the Country-Girl, who consulted a Doctor about finding a lost Sheep; and he, out of a Joke, gave her a Purge: but as the Sheep was found during the Operation, the Girl made herself sure the Medicine was the Cause, and the Doctor a Conjuror.

By Imagination.

Many Diseases arise from a perverted Imagination; and some of them are cured by affecting the Imagination only. It appears almost incredible, what great Effects the Imagination has upon Patients; but especially those of a particular Turn and Make. The famous Chymist, *Franciscus Borri*, cured all Diseases, for some time; and rose to such Height of Reputation, that Patients were carried from *Paris* to *Amsterdam* to be cured by him. But, when it came to be observed that he cured only those who had a strong Imagination, his Credit sunk at once; and he worked no more Wonders. The same Thing happened to an *Irish* Quack, *Greterix*, called *the Stroker*, who, for a while, performed miraculous Cures, in *London*; but upon the sudden Fall of his Reputation, his Skill deserted him. Hence we may say, that he is the best Physician in whom the Patient has the greatest Confidence. And if this be the Case, I hold it as unjust to oblige the Sick to make use of certain Doctors only; as it would be barbarous, to force them to make use of Confessors they do not like. In both Cases they should be left to their own Liberty and Choice; because the Persons we have a Trust and Confidence in, may produce greater Effects

Effects, with slender Skill, or mean Elocution, than the best and most experienced Physicians, or Orators, to whom we have any Aversion, Dislike, or Indifference. A Quack, or a Farrier, in whom a Patient places great Confidence, is, in my Opinion, a better Physician for that Patient, than a graduate Doctor, from whom he has no Expectation.

And as we see by Experience, what extraordinary Efficacy the Imagination has in the Cure of Diseases; I cannot approve of those Doctors, who dishearten their Patients, by giving hasty and blunt Opinions of Distempers. The principal Quality of a Physician, as well as of a Poet, (for *Apollo* is the God both of Physic and Poetry) is that of fine Lying, or flattering the Patient. Many a Man has been killed before his time, by a rash Censure, or injudicious Condemnation of his Physician; and many a drooping Patient revived, upon the Doctor's assuring them of a Recovery. This remarkable Difference, betwixt regular Physicians and Quacks, is perhaps, in part, the Cause of the Cures performed by Quacks; for, a Quack can cure by Aspect, or a Glimpse of his Countenance: and the single Assurance he gives his Patients of a speedy Amendment, has often more Efficacy than the Apothecary's Shop. And it is doubtless as well for the Patient, to be cured by the working of his own Imagination, or a Reliance upon the Promise of his Doctor, as by repeated Doses of Physic.

The great *Bartholine* declares, he once, by Mistake, gave to a Patient a Bottle of fair Water,

instead of another Bottle of Liquor designed for an Emetic ; and that the Patient's Imagination was so affected by the Expectation, that the Water operated as a Vomit. Now, if People may be sick by Imagination, Physicians should endeavour to cure by Imagination. And, of such Cures, there have been so many remarkable Instances, as might afford sufficient Hints for ingenious Gentlemen to work upon. I would not be suspected of endeavouring to degrade the Art of Physic ; or of looking upon Physicians as useless. I acknowledge the Effects of Medicine, and am satisfied great Cures have been wrought by the Rules of Art : but I say, at the same time, that many Cures are performed by Nature, Accident, and Imagination ; that Men's Constitutions, Tempers, and Particularities, are not hitherto understood ; and that the Rules of Physic, not being drawn from a Knowledge of Nature, are therefore frequently baffled ; and indeed that the Trade is not yet advanced to a Science.

Rules
from Ex-
perience.

If I were a Physician, I should not always give the same Medicines to one Patient that I gave to another, in the same Disease : for, I judge of Medicines and Diet, not according to their own Powers and Virtues ; but the Effects they usually produce on the Bodies of certain Persons, respectively. If any Man should assure me he had long eat raw Flesh, or drank stinking Water, and found they always agreed with him, I should not advise him to leave them off. I have long continued the Practice

tice of drinking Coffee, because it agrees with me; but cannot advise it to others of my own Complexion: and have persuaded many against it, because they found themselves oppressed by it.

I judge that the Patient should have a double Vote in every Consultation of Doctors; or rather that the Physician should content himself with Enquiring and Proposing, and leave the Determination to the Patient. For, tho' the Doctor may have carefully observed a great Number of Patients, yet every sensible Patient has had the best and longest Experience of himself; and may therefore be the best Guide to his Doctors. If a Patient's Judgment be sound, he shall have my Consent to be his own Physician.

VI.

Of the Law and Lawyers.

THERE is a remarkable Affinity betwixt Attornies and Accountants: both their Arts consist in Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division. An Accountant books his Income and Disburse, adds Sum to Sum, and thus lays the Foundation of his Balance. An Attorney books his Charges, adds Day to Day, Citation to Citation; and, with drawing Answers, Replies, and Rejoinders, swells the Account to a proper Size; till, at length, the Client knows the Sum Total. This kind of Law Book-keeping

The Rules of Arithmetic recommended to Lawyers.

Addition.

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ing is so regular, that the Client can find no Fault, or make any Exception to the Legality of the Procedure; but has a liquidated Account delivered him, the Balance so much.

Subtraction.

Subtraction is no less useful to a Lawyer; who carries few Causes from whence he does not subtract a Child's Share; so that if the Costs recovered amount to a hundred Pounds, subtract sixty for the Lawyer, and forty remain for the Client. Nay, let the Cause be won or lost, the Lawyer, by subtracting from the Remainder, is sure to be paid.

Multiplication.

Every accomplished Lawyer must also be perfect in Multiplication. He is a poor Limb of the Law indeed, who brings a Cause into Court, and cannot carry two back. By this Art of Multiplication, the Study of the Law is promoted; and many a necessitous Family provided for. But, a sensible Man does not only take Care for To-day; he has always an Eye to To-morrow. I knew a Man, who, by this Art of multiplying Causes, not only nursed them up during his Life-time; but left, at his Death, to the worthy Attorney who married his Daughter, three Boxes full of good fat Causes, for her Fortune: so careful was he to plant for Posterity! What signifies the Theory of the Law, without making use of it in Practice, and securing the Emoluments of the Bar?

Division.

But, Division crowns the Labour of the Lawyer; and keeps his Practice alive, in spite of all Opposition. For, whereas, certain malevolent Persons,

Persons, having evil Designs against the Law, would traitorously, feloniously, and of Malice afore-thought, stifle good Causes in their Birth, or not suffer them to grow to Maturity; a sensible Lawyer here steps in, with his Art of Division, and prevents the fatal Mischief; by inspiring both Parties with Courage; and spiring up their languid Forces, compels them to join Issue, and drag the languishing Cause to the Bar. And hereby a murderous Intention is happily prevented from taking Effect, and two substantial Advantages procured; for, hence, the Law is kept in a flourishing State of Activity, and every Man left to enjoy his Right. *Jus suum cuique.*

Some are so severe against the Law, as to pretend, that Lawyers alone reap the Benefit of all the Causes tried: but those who say this, betray their Ignorance of Lawyers. The Honour of gaining a Cause is Advantage enough to some of them. A Lawyer of Spirit, who loves and honours his Profession, will plead without Fee; as Princes fight, not for Profit or Plunder, but for Ambition; and sing *Te Deum* without gaining the Advantage. The honourable Gentlemen of the Robe are no more to be censured for encouraging their Clients to maintain, support, and defend their just Rights, Privileges, and Immunities; than a good General is to be condemned for heartening up his Soldiers, and encouraging them to burn, plunder, and destroy the Enemy. Division, therefore, is a capital Qualification

All Law-
yers not
Mercena-
ries.

Qualification of the Lawyer. Let *Divide & impera*, be the Motto of the Bar.

Algebra
unprofitable to
Lawyers.

I would advise no Lawyer to carry his Views farther than the four first Rules of Arithmetic; if he venture into *Algebra*, it is at the Peril of himself and Family. Deep Knowledge in Law is poorly paid for, and not every body's Money. A little Common-place Oratory, the Practice of Courts, and the four Rules of Vulgar Arithmetic, do the Business. The public Professors of Law are strangely wrong, in all the *European* Universities, to perplex the studious Youth with *Grotius* and *Puffendorf*, the Institutes and Pandects; loading their tender Heads with the useless Lumber of Precepts, Maxims, and Foundations of Law; without ever mentioning a Syllable of the Spirit, the Soul, and practical Rules, by which all the Business of the Bar is advantageously carried on; and the Sweets enjoyed, at the easy Expence of the Client.

S E C T. III.

Of Government and Laws.

I.

Of State-Reformation.

STATES and Societies, like the Body of Man, are subject to various Disorders. Parallel betwixt Politics and Physic. What in the Body we call a Disease, may, in Kingdoms and Republics, be called a State-Failing. Diseases of the Body are cured by Medicines or Courses; and State-Failings by Laws or Regulations. What in Physic is termed a Cure; we call, in Politics, a Reformation.

Since there is so near a Resemblance betwixt Politics and Physic, betwixt the Lawgiver and the Physician; and since the Manner of Cure is alike, tho' the Remedies differ; intelligent Statesmen might

might do well, in rectifying State-Failings, to imitate the Procedure of intelligent Physicians. The Physician goes cautiously to work with a weakly Constitution; and a Statesman should treat a weakly State with Delicacy and Gentleness: for, in both Cases, the least Over-dose may do Harm. A prudent Physician examines the Constitution of his Patient, before he prescribes; and suits his Prescription to the Nature of the Case, its Circumstances and Symptoms: and a State-Reformer must carefully enquire into the Nature, and Situation, the Turn, Frame, and Circumstances of a State; and suit his Ordinances accordingly. For, as some Patients require double or triple Doses; some Kingdoms require stronger Laws than others, to produce the desired Effect.

Political
Reforma-
tion.

It is a Rule, with judicious Physicians, to use no such violent Means, as may prove worse than the Disease. All Patients are not so happy as the *Swiss*, who falling sick upon a Journey, and being in a Hurry to get on, took the Physic of eight Days at once; and recovered. As it is a capital Rule in Physic, never to give such violent Medicines, as may kill or cure at a Dose; so it ought to be a standing Rule in Reformations, to proceed Step by Step; adapt and proportion the Remedy to the kind of Disorder in the State; and give no stronger Doses than it can bear without being convulsed. Constant Experience shews, that a State is rather made worse, than better, by all rash and precipitate Reformations; as

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an Ague, by violent Medicines, may be turned to a continual Fever.

We learn by Examples, both ancient and modern, that, in most Reformati-^{Requires} ons, State-^{Caution.} Errors have rather been altered than eradicated. For, as Men are, by Nature, addicted to start from one Extreme to the opposite; so in States; one great Error is apt to succeed another; as the hot Fit does the cold, in an intermitting Fever. A Miser may laudably endeavour to correct his Avarice; but if he hold no Medium in his Reformation, he will commence Extravagant. In hasty Changes, we see, Irreligion turns to Superstition; Fervor to Coldness; Courage to Fear; and Talkativeness to ridiculous Silence. I knew a Man so timid and cautious in his Discourse, that he would not venture to relate the most common Occurrences, before he had ordered his Children out of the Room. This Man had been one of the most loquacious Inhabitants of the City; and was fined for speaking too freely. In most Reformati-^{Requires} ons, to avoid one Rock, Men split upon another. Half-starved People will eat till they surfeit; and Soldiers in a Pannic will run from the Enemy, into Fire or Water; and dye for fear of dying.

For my part, tho' the World has always my good Wishes, I cannot rejoice at every Reformation; because Experience shews, that the Thing designed to be altered, often remains as it did; tho' its Form be changed. The same Humours sometimes appear under the Denomination of the Head-Ach, Rheumatism, or Gout; according

And not
to be un-
dertaken
rashly.

as they fly, or are driven by Medicines, from one part of the Body to another. And as no Physician can justly say he has cured a Disease, because he has changed it into the Gout or Rheumatism ; so no Politician can properly say he has cured a State-Failing, when by endeavouring to root out an old Grievance, he brings on a new one. Too active Remedies sometimes cure the Disease, but kill the Patient ; and outrageous Re-formations may ruin a State.

I am, however, no Enemy to Reformation ; but remain convinced that most Countries and Societies require to be reformed. I only entreat Men to proceed in this Work with Judgment ; and not run from one Error into another. He who goes slow, comes to his Journey's End at last ; whilst those who make Post-haste, may fall by the Way, or miss the Track. There goes a Story of a Coachman, who finding the Road rough, asked a Country Fellow, if it was possible to reach a certain Town before Sun-set : the Country-Man answered “ Yes, provided you “ drive slow.” The Coachman, taking this for a Joke, grew angry ; lashed his Horses into a Gallop, broke a Wheel, and did not reach the Town that Night.

State Policy not to be pushed too far.

When a Person labours under too great a Fullness of Blood, I should advise him to open a Vein ; but to do it with Moderation, so as to leave the necessary Quantity behind. If a House be crowded with Servants, it is proper to dismiss such of them as are superfluous ; but to retain so many as may do the necessary Business of the Family.

mily. If a Reformation be not conducted with Moderation, we fall out of one Misfortune into another ; and sometimes from a less into a greater. A certain King of *Pegu*, who had long been made uneasy by rebellious Subjects, banished a great Number of them, that he might more easily govern the rest : but the Country was so thinned by this Reformation, that his Neighbours took the Advantage, and made themselves Masters of him and his Kingdom. This is an Instance of State-Policy pushed too far.

Extremes are hurtful. All Sense and Virtue consist in Moderation : if once they exceed the proper Bounds, they become metamorphosed into Folly and Vice. The *Chinese* Philosopher, *Confucius*, wrote a System of Morality and Civil Policy, entitled, *The great Midway* ; intimating that the middle Way is the best to follow. Good Things become bad, if immoderately used. I have known People ruined by Care ; and impoverished by Parsimony. Activity has great Effects ; but resembles a high-mettled Horse, that requires the Curb. It drives the Ship, like a fair Wind ; but may run her upon a Rock. The Understanding must be Pilot ; and make the fair Wind serve to a good Purpose.

Many by moderate, regular Labour, perform *Æconomy* more than others by great Activity. I have, with Surprise, observed, that Women preserve Estates better than Men ; and can find no juster Reason for it, than, that Men have more Activity, and more of the scheming, restless Nature, than Women. For, Women are not apt to undertake Reforms ;

Reformations ; but content themselves to follow the common Rules of Œconomy : whereas Men will always be giving Specimens of their Skill and Address, till they risk their Ruin.

II.

Of meliorating the Universities of Europe.

The State
of Univer-
sities.

I Hope my Reader will not take me for a Contemner of Science. I never jest with Learning ; but only with its Fopperies, and our perverted Methods of Study. It is true, what some take for Means of promoting Learning, I take for Means of suppressing Science ; and what some hold for Ornaments, I presume are Disgraces to Scholarship. I am persuaded that we might arrive at our End by shorter Means ; or sooner and better become wise and useful by Meditation and Practice, than by Argument and Dispute. For, tho' by Dispute we arrive at University-Degrees ; it is Experience and Reflection that make us really knowing, and serviceable.

To hear the Din and Alarm, to see the Bustle and Hurry, of the *European* Universities ; one might think they were Places big with Works ; productive of the best Fruits and Effects ; and constantly employed for the Service of Mankind. But whoever looks into the real Business they transact, will find these Mountains labour for a slender Produce.

Produce. Men may dispute themselves into Heats and Sweats, or drive round and round, in the Sciences, and yet the Matter of Science remain the same. Such Bustling only alters the Mode, the Shape, or Size, but not the Substance, of Knowledge. Academical Exercises, whether in Discourse or Writing, chiefly consist in repeating what has been said a Thousand times already. But the same Song, tho' ever so good, displeases, if sung too often. Indeed I reckon those happy, who have their Taste so formed as to relish the same Subject varied through all the possible Styles and Changes. But Sameness of Subject, variously modulated, does not delight, or instruct, every Hearer.

It is remarkable, that the Universities of *Europe* were founded in Times of the grossest Ignorance. What kind of Taste then reigned, what absurd and monstrous Tenets prevailed, what Foundations, both Spiritual and Temporal, took place, we see by the Histories of those Times; and, in part, by the present Remains of such Institutions, even in the best regulated Universities of *Europe*. It cost *Luther*, and the other Reformers of Religion, immense Labour, to separate the Tares from the Wheat. Many have wished some Academical *Luther*, or *Erasmus*, might arise; who, like them, would undertake to reform the Sciences. For, tho' great Improvements in Knowledge have lately been made, yet much of the old Tincture remains. We may have some Notion of the barbarous Ages by their Architecture; wherein the *Gothic* Taste prevailed,

ed, and produced heavy, cumbersome, ill-concerted Buildings, set off with Profusion of absurd Ornaments; as appears by many Specimens still standing. In like manner there remain among us, numerous cumbersome Relicks of the useless, scholastic, phantastic, metaphysical, burthensome Learning; whereby both Religion and the Sciences are perverted or deformed; and their native Charms and Simplicity obscured or hid.

Certain Studies might, at least, be restrained, that render Mankind no wiser; and others might be introduced, that are highly necessary for the Service of the Church, the State, and all the Arts and Professions of Life. The right Study and Improvement of Natural Philosophy, Morality, and Civil Policy, might render Universities of the utmost Use to a Nation; whereas, if proper Care be not taken, they may grow worse and prove highly detrimental; by spreading false Taste, Foppery, and Contagion thro' a Country; suffering the Study of Government to be neglected; Religion to be corrupted, or effaced; Morality to be beat out of Countenance; the Notions of Right and Wrong to be confounded; and such Persons to be treated as Idiots, who shall attempt to act well; dare to oppose wrong Measures; defend Liberty, Virtue, and Sense; or maintain the only Foundations of good Policy, sound Philosophy, and true Religion. All this is possible.

The new Societies to supply the Defects of the old, The Societies and Academies, founded in the last and the present Century, appear designed to supply this Defect of the old Universities. And indeed we are highly indebted to the new Societies for

for many real Improvements. In these Societies learned Men assemble, at certain times, to communicate their Thoughts. Each Member lays his Inventions, Improvements, or Writings before the whole Body, to receive Correction and Amendment. Curious and difficult Questions are proposed; and Rewards assigned to those who give the best Solutions. It is well known how much the Sciences have been advanced by these Means; and how many useful Discoveries made.

But tho' these new Academies are of great Service in promoting the Sciences; yet we should not rest contented with them. Every University might have two principal Views; viz. the perfecting of Science among the Teachers; and the instructing of Youth. The new Academies have no Regard to the Instruction of Youth. My Judgment is, that the old Universities should be supported; but with such Amendments, and new Regulations, as might improve the Master as well as the Scholar. For which purpose, there needs no more than to copy the new Academies; transfer their Regulations into the old; follow their Practice of communicating all Works and Writings with their Collegues; and permit nothing to be published, till it has been carefully examined, and corrected, by the Society. If this were generally done, we might be sure of having none but good Books printed at Universities. But if Books are composed in a Hurry, or by Men of unripe Capacities, not versed in the Subject, nor practised in Writing, nothing but crude

And to
improve
from each
other.

Compositions are to be expected. And to suffer, or compel, the Students to write and publish before they are qualified by Time, Reflection, and Experience, is the way to have Books that cannot be worth the Reading.

There are other Means of trying and exercising the Strength and Capacities of Youth, without making the Public their Butt. And certainly it would be better to exercise the studious Youth in the way of *Theses*, than in formal Dissertation, and Works at large. I am well assured, by Experience, that Dissertation is above the Reach of a young or raw Capacity. A Student should no more be suffered to become an Author, than a young Physician be permitted to practise at Court. They ought neither of them to make their first Essays upon the Public. A bad Book, once published, is no more to be recalled, than an improper Medicine once taken. Masters, Tutors, and Governors must be upon the Watch, to preserve and defend the Community, as well as their Pupils: otherwise both may be hurt. Crude Books not only affect the Reputation of the Author; but also his Friends, and those who suffer, or direct him to publish.

Public
Readings
to be
changed.

I have constantly observed, that public Lectures at Colleges are of little Use; because few Persons frequent them, and those chiefly out of Curiosity; who instead of desiring to be informed, in particular Points, come only to hear the Lecturer. If any of these Hearers wanted Information, there are so many Books, carefully written, upon common Topics, that it
might

might be more instructive to study them, than to hear a hasty Composition read upon the Subject. I, therefore, judge it might be more useful, if the *Prælector* were turned into a *Responsor*; so as, at set Times and Places, to answer proper Questions, proposed by the Students. This might be a Means of informing them in what they want to know; and of clearing up such Difficulties as they meet with in their Studies.

And hence would arise considerable Advantage. For, no body, upon this Footing, would covet the the Professor's Chair, who did not find himself qualified for it; because, in such a Situation, the Professor's Ignorance could not be concealed. It would also encourage Teachers to study more carefully, and cultivate the Sciences with Vigour; so as never to be unprovided of suitable Matter, and Method, for Answers. And indeed, if this Rule were observed, no Teacher could remain ignorant; nor any Student be at a Loss for Help in solving such Difficulties, as prove too hard for his single Abilities.

It may be objected, that a Professorship, on these Conditions, would be irksome; as one Man may ask more Questions than ten can answer. And I allow, the Chair would be no easy Seat: but the Trouble of it, might be abundantly recompensed by its Utility. The Thing is not impracticable; for this very Manner of instructing was anciently practised. The Professors of Law were formerly *Responsores*; and *respondere in Jure* is synonymous with teaching. It is not indeed to be expected, that any Man should

Professorships
to be altered.

be able to answer all Questions; nor would he be thought the worse of for avowing his Ignorance: but what a Man cannot answer To-day, he may answer To-morrow; and both the Teacher and Learner be improved by the Question. Thus Knowledge would be encreased, and the Public informed.

Only
useful
Books
to be pub-
lished.

If, besides this Method of, at once, learning and teaching, the Students were kept, at certain Times, to the making of *Theses*, with the Assignment of Rewards to the best Performers; an useful Emulation might be raised for the Encouragement of Study; and none but excellent Performances in the Arts and Sciences be presented to the Public. Each Book would then prove an useful Ornament to its Country; and such serviceable Studies, as now thro' Ignorance, Unskilfulness, and Rawness of Writing, are fallen into Contempt, would grow into Esteem; and our Libraries no longer be filled with the Lumber of rash Scriblers, and selfish Booksellers. It is not sufficient that a Book appear under the Sanction of an *Imprimatur*, or a Declaration that it contains nothing contrary to Religion and good Manners. There are Thousands of useless Volumes published, of which that Character may justly be given: but no Book should appear before the Public, till it deserves the Character of being wrote with Skill, Labour, and Judgment.

III.

Of the making of Laws.

SCARCE any Thing shews the Infirmitie ^{Requisites} of human Nature more than the hasty making, repealing, amending, and multiplying of ^{in the making of Laws.} Laws. It is impossible that good Laws should be made, and duly executed, unless the Legislative Power be knowing, prudent, and virtuous; so as to render each single Law productive of Happiness, or preventive of Misery, to the People. To do this, requires greater Circumspection, Study, and Skill, than Men seem generally to imagine.

The ancient *Romans*, before they enacted a Law, hung up the Scheme for it, in a public ^{The Roman} Place; where it remained exposed to View for ^{Laws, how made.} three Weeks, or during the Space of *tres Nundinæ*, including three Market-Days; whereby, the Inhabitants both of the City and Country had an Opportunity of reading and examining it. The ablest Orators and Lawyers publicly harangued upon the Sketch; so that every Man might hear what was to be said for and against it. After this, the whole People were convened to give their Votes, in their respective Classes; and if the Law was adjudged to be good, by a Majority of Voices, it was confirmed by the Council, and engraved in Copper. This Ceremony may appear strange to us; but, it had such an Effect, that the Laws so made, are likely to prove eter-

nal : for, they not only remained in Force to the End of the *Roman* Empire, but have survived it ; so as to be still observed, and followed, in most of the States of *Europe*.

The Care
required to
enact,

How simple soever a Law may appear, it ought to be thoroughly sifted and considered : if Men are in a hurry about it, the Consequence may prove as bad, as if a Farmer should cut his Corn before it is ripe ; or stack his Hay before it is dry : which therefore fires, or rots in the Barn. *Apelles* exposed his Pieces to public View, that all sorts of People might examine them ; and upon once hearing that, a Shoemaker had found Fault with a Shoe, in one of his Pictures, he acknowledged the Error, and corrected it. The like Method has been advantageously taken by different Artists, in their respective Performances.

Some may think it a Loss of Time, thus to spin out the Examination of a Law ; and an easy Matter, by a subsequent Act, to correct the Errors, or supply the Defects of a former. But the making of Experiments in Laws, is as dangerous to a State, as the making of Experiments in Physic. Mischief is done in both Cases, if the Experiment miscarries. Men must not argue in such momentous Affairs as they do in lighter Matters ; and cry, “ It is easy to make the Experiment ; ” because Commotion is sooner raised than suppressed in a Government. *Interim patitur Justus*, is a Maxim that must be regarded : for no good Man should be hurt. And as it is necessary to be well assured of the Strength of a Medicine before it is given ; so it is necessary that the Scheme of
a Law

a Law should be well considered, before it passes into an Act.

To prepare the Plan of a Law requires a whole Man, and more than a Day; for, besides Particulars, a Law-Maker must necessarily attend to four capital Things, of a general kind; viz.

- (1.) The Nature and Situation of the Country.
- (2.) The Turn and Temper of the People.
- (3.) The preceding Times; to see what has happened. And (4.) to future Ages; to foresee what may happen.

(1.) He must carefully represent to himself the Nature and Situation of the Country, for which the Law is intended. A particular Seed may be proper for one sort of Land, but improper for another. A skilful Farmer examines the Nature of his Ground, before he sows it; and a Lawgiver must carefully examine the Nature and Disposition of the Country, before he undertakes to give it a Law. The same Customs, and the same Laws, do not equally suit all Places. A certain Philosopher being asked which were the best Laws; answered, "Those best adapted to the Country; for a good Law at *Athens*, may be a bad one at *Lacedemon*." Suitably to the Country,

(2.) Every Lawgiver must regard the Turn, And Genius, and Bent of the People, for whom his Laws are intended. Sometimes the People may be of such a Temper, as to bear harsh Reforms; and yet be raised into Commotion by trifling Alterations. The *Chinese* patiently submitted to all the Laws of their Conquerors, the *Tartars*, except that of cutting off their Hair; about which

which many of them lost their Lives. The great Reformer, *Peter Alexowitz*, brought the *Russians* to quit most of their ancient Customs ; but by insisting upon their shaving their Beards, threw the whole Country into Confusion. The Ordinance for abolishing Exorcisms, tho', in itself, a Thing of an indifferent Nature, has produced more violent Effects, than the changing of Articles of Faith. As absolute as the *Persian* Monarchs are, they do not venture to abolish the pernicious Use of Opium : and as powerful as the late Emperor of *Russia* was, he durst not prohibit the drinking of Brandy. These and the like Examples may direct Lawgivers, to study the Nature and Inclinations of the People, for whom their Laws are designed. What in one Country may be done with a Nod, or a Wink, cannot be accomplished with Fire and Sword in another. Laws must be suited to the People, and not the People to Laws.

Laws
must re-
gard past
Times,

(3.) A Lawgiver must regard past Times, in order to see whether the Law he would introduce, has been experienced before, and with what Success : for, it is from past Times that we must judge of Times to come. When an Ordinance has already miscarried in the tenth Essay, we may presume it will not succeed in the eleventh. After a Medicine has frequently failed, we can have no reasonable Hopes of its curing. History is the surest Instructor.

The late *Czar*, who moulded *Russia* anew, used such Precaution in his Reforms, that he rarely attempted one, without being well assured
it

it would prove advantageous. King *William* being exhorted to introduce the New-Style, took Time to consider of it; and consulted with his Astronomers, whether Leap-Year, and other Chronological Irregularities, could by this Means be avoided. The Astronomers answered in the Negative: then said the King, "We had as good let the Style remain as it did." This Conduct of the *British* Monarch, the *Czar* frequently cited, when any new Regulations were proposed to him, from which he could see no great Advantage to the Public.

Indeed, it is best to retain the old Regulations, when they cannot be bettered by new ones; because Inconveniencies may arise from Alteration. A State is like a Building, consisting of several Parts, so put together, that one cannot be much disturbed, without disturbing the whole. And hence *Lycurgus* obliged the *Lacedemonians* to take an Oath, that they would never alter his Ordinances: which Oath they so religiously kept, that when *Phrynus* proposed to improve the *Lacedemonian* Lute, by the Addition of two new Strings, the *Ephori* ordered him to be put to Death. This was rigid; for, the Circumstances of Times frequently require old Ordinances to be abrogated. *Agessilaus* was deservedly praised, when, upon a certain Occasion, he ordered the Laws to sleep for twenty-four Hours. The same may be said of *Alexander*, who, once, for weighty Reasons, ordered that *June* should be *May*. And *Plutarch* commends it in *Philopæmene*, that he not only knew how to command according to Law,
but

but even to command the Law itself, when Occasion required. Doubtless no Law should be made without Necessity; or but for the Sake of considerable Advantage.

And the
future.

(4.) Lawgivers must represent to themselves what may probably happen, to render their Laws unsuitable or hurtful in the future. Man, indeed, cannot always guard against Accidents, or prevent such Things as he could not foresee: yet, in the Business of Laws, and Acts of Perpetuity, Politicians must lay possible Accidents before them; and imagine Cases capable of defeating, or changing their good Intentions: for, a Ruler, a Minister, or General, must not say, “I did not think of that;” because every Man ought to think of Accidents, and prepare for them. Those who do not, are like thoughtless Travellers unprovided against bad Roads and Weather.

Suitable
Councils
to be chose.

But because Men are apt to take Matters in Extremes, I must add, that, by Accidents, I mean no other than common Accidents; for, to provide against extraordinary ones, is not sensible, but unreasonable. The best intended Regulations may be as much defeated by unreasonable Precaution, as by no Caution at all.

And thus, tho’ great Prudence, and Consideration are required in making a Law; yet the middle Way, betwixt the *French* Alacrity and the *Spanish* Solemnity, may be chose. In the framing of Laws, we should neither gallop nor creep: for, too much and too little Hasten have equally great Inconveniencies. Hasty Council is like unripe Fruit; and slow Deliberations like Fruits that

hat rot. It sometimes happens, that the Circumstances of public Affairs will not admit of Delay : and in such Cases, an imperfect Attempt is better than none. It may therefore be proper, for a State to have two Sets of Counsellors ; a young, and an old one ; and employ the Young when Matters require Expedition ; but the Old when they ought to be done in Perfection.

IV.

intimations of Man's Nature, with respect to Laws.

IT is a strange Property in us, that we should have a particular Pleasure in doing those Things which are strictly forbid. O that it were Sin to drink cold Water ! cries a certain *Italian* ; meaning it would then taste more delicious. No People are fonder of Wine than the *Mahomedans*, to whom it is forbid by the *Alcoran*. Possibly their Desire for it would lessen, if this Prohibition were annulled. The good People of *England* are remarkable for breaking their Laws : they rise against their bulky Statutes, as if determined to defeat them. Fines, Penalties, and Punishments, seem here to multiply Transgressions ; and the Gallows itself to breed Malefactors.

I do not advise the abrogating of Penal Laws ; because tho' Fear and Punishment may awaken or excite the Appetite of Sinning ; yet Laws check the open and general Commission of Vice : which is Cause

Man's refractory Nature.

Penal Laws without express Prohibition.

Cause sufficient for having them : but, I presume, if no particular, or express Prohibitions were made use of, the Desire of transgressing would be weakened ; and Laws have a greater Effect, by suppressing the Spirit that is apt to rebel against Prohibition.

Effects of
Prohibition.

It is an old Complaint, the more Doctors the more Diseases ; the more Laws the more Criminals. If a Man, who is naturally taciturn, be strictly enjoined Silence, his Tongue would grow wanton. A Book may long lye buried in the Shops, and no Man ask for it ; but let it be prohibited, and half the Town will buy it. A certain Author actually obtained a Prohibition of his Works, on purpose to promote their Sale ; and was not disappointed.

How greatly Man's Desire is raised by Prohibition appears from particular Secrets communicated, under the strictest Ties ; insomuch, that it is a Practice with some subtle People, to tell a Thing as a Secret, on purpose to have it disclosed : for, the Nature of some Men is such, that they are sure to divulge what they are charged to conceal ; and to slight what they have free Leave to tell : which points out a Method of curing Blabs. Men are like unruly Horses ; the more you hold them in, the more resty they grow. In Countries where the Women are locked up, Men are the keener after them ; but where the Females go loose, the Passion is cooler. This Consideration moved some Lawgivers to indulge a free Commerce betwixt the Sexes.

Man

Man seldom has a strong Desire for any lawful Thing, that is easily obtainable. We are not driven to our Duty by Laws, so much as by Ambition. Whatever Princes do, in their own Persons, they seem to authorize in their Subjects. If it were enacted, that only Persons of high Rank should dine upon three Dishes, the lower Sort would desire to have three : but, if Commoners were permitted to have as many Dishes as they pleased, whilst the Nobility were limited to two; the inferior Sort would not exceed that Number. An Order to abolish the wearing of Jewels has set a whole Country in an Uproar; but, if the Order had only prohibited Ear-rings to Ladies of the first Quality, other Women would not have desired to wear them. Some do not rise till Noon; but if all People were ordered to be in Bed so long, the present Morning-Sleepers would rise earlier. There are those who seldom speak Truth; but if Lying passed for a Virtue, these Lyars would speak as true as their Neighbours. If Gaming were reckoned ungentle, Cards and Dice would lose of their Relish. Some pretend to disbelieve Religion, because others hold Faith as a Duty. All this may be thought extravagant; but I judge of Things that may happen, from Things that have happened; and know no better Way to foretell the Behaviour of Men.

Gregorius Leti, in his History of the Duke of *Ossuna*, gives a remarkable Instance of this perverse Nature in Man. A rich *Neapolitan* Merchant, *Jacob Morel*, prided himself in not having once set his Foot out of the City, during the

Man's Appetite to Things forbid.

the Space of forty-eight Years. This coming to the Ears of the Duke, *Morel* had Notice sent him, that he was to take no Journey out of the Kingdom, under the Penalty of ten thousand Crowns. The Merchant smiled at receiving the Order ; but, afterwards, not being able to fathom the Reason of such a Prohibition, grew so uneasy, that he paid the Fine, and took a little Trip out of the Kingdom.

Oddities
of Man.

We find Man generally described as a rational Creature, and distinguished, by his Understanding, from the rest of the Creation ; but we may say, from Experience, that among all the Creatures we know, there is nothing so unlike a Man as Man. *Diogenes*, who had studied human Nature, seems to have been convinced of this Truth. He called out aloud in Public, “ Come hither ye Men, and hear what I shall say.” Upon which the People flocked about him ; but he beat them away with his Staff, saying, “ he did not call for them, but for Men.” Indeed, when we consider the Make of Man, we must acknowledge him an astonishing Masterpiece ; but when we reflect upon his Oddities and Caprice, and compare them with the orderly bounded Desires of other Animals, our towering Notions of this noble Creature droop. Man’s Life is spent in liking and disliking, in chusing and refusing, the same Things. If an Inhabitant of another Planet should descend upon this, and contemplate the terrestrial Creatures, he might observe a certain Order, Regularity, and Dignity, among the Brutes ; but a strange odd
jumble

jumble of Desires, contradictory Appetites, and Passions, among Men. He would find we dealt in such aukward Sorts of Pretext, Chicane, and Grimace, as might lead him to suspect that Men were Mimics acting a Farce. Such a Stranger might be puzzled a long while, before he discovered that Man had Dominion over the Earth, and a Wisdom superior to Brutes.

My Design is not to describe Mankind ; but to intimate we have Appetites, that make us strive against the Stream ; do the Things we are forbid ; neglect those commanded ; pursue those attended with Difficulty and Danger ; and, having once obtained them, despise and nauseate them in the Possession. These Appetites we observe even in Children ; who seldom relish or enjoy the good Things given them ; but long, and strive, and cry after Baubles refused them. Youth, we see, take dangerous Leaps ; clamber Trees, Rocks, and Precipices ; cross Rivers upon Boards ; tempt Dangers and Difficulties, tho' forbid to the contrary ; and sometimes the rather for being forbid. And since this appears to be Man's Nature, we cannot wonder so many excellent Laws, both divine and human, should be transgressed by Man.

This Account, plain and true as it is, may Morality to be genuine. disgust the general Taste, at a Time when false Notions of Politeness, Rectitude, Fitness, abstract Philosophy, and metaphysical Morality, endeavour to get the Ascendant over Fact and Experience, History and the genuine Characters of Nature. But the World is what it is, however

S

Men

Men may think of it: and we should certainly endeavour to know it as it is, rather than amuse ourselves with Fictions about it. The moral World should be described as justly as the natural.

The Taste
for it to be
improved.

I cannot prevail upon myself to mould Morality according to the Fashion of these Times. Truth and Nature should not be perverted, or disfigured. Certain Moralists, in order to apologize for the Failings of Mankind, venture to defend Enormities, and countenance Irreligion and Vice. *Socrates* was no Misanthrope; but gave genuine Descriptions of Man. And, in my Opinion, that ancient Observer knew more of human Nature, and had studied the Passions better than many of our modern Moralists. It is weak and groveling to accommodate moral Writings to a false, or depraved Taste; and endeavour to please, by sacrificing Truth and Reality, either to noxious Flattery, or empty Shew.

V.

Of Punishment, in order to Amendment.

Punishment
necessary.

SOME Vices cannot be curbed by Exhortation, Threats, or Encouragements; whence corporal Punishments become necessary, and authorized by Law. If the Lazy cannot, by Admonition, Reproof, or Reward, be excited to Labour,

Labour, the Rod and the Whip must quicken them: if an obstinate Criminal will neither confess nor plead, the Torture must be applied: if a Debtor refuses Payment, his Person or Goods must be seized.

But there are Vices of a black Dye, which subject the Guilty to no human Punishment; because Laws extend only to those Vices which immediately hurt Society: and therefore no Action at Law, will lie against Pride, Avarice, Envy, and such odious Failings as prejudice none but the guilty Possessor. *Xenophon* indeed relates, that, among the ancient *Persians*, Ingratitude was actionable: but it has been punished in no other Nation. Nor could Punishment, in such Cases, produce any good Effect. Actions proceeding from bad Inclinations may be restrained by Force; but not the Appetite, or Inclination itself. We may withhold the Hand of a determined Murderer; but not subdue his Intention to murder. Mental Failings are incorrigible by Coercion.

A moral Philosopher must imitate the Physician; enquire into the Nature of the Offence he would correct; and suit his Remedy to the particular Disorder. To use the same Sermon in every Congregation, would be as improper as to use the same Book in every Class of a School. That Preacher gave a Specimen of his good Sense, who, in the midst of a pathetic Discourse, made this Transition: "So much for the Pews; I now direct myself to the Benches."

Some Crimes not punishable.

Correction to be adapted to the Crime.

The most effectual Discourses are those best adapted to the Hearers. Some Orators, by means of short, unelaborate, but properly adapted, Speeches, have obtained their End, much better than others by florid Harangues. Orations laboured after the Manner of *Demosthenes*, *Tully*, or *Quintus Curtius*, would be lost upon modern Assemblies; and a pointed Sentence, a Joke, or a Bluntness, produce much greater Effects. As Men have different Appetites, Passions, Customs, and Understandings; different Means must be used to affect them. For Example, Heretics, Fanatics, Atheists, and the Indifferent in Religion, are to be treated suitably to the Nature of their respective Cases.

Heretics. (1.) Heretics are those who believe a Doctrine true, which may be false. I reject the Distinction, commonly made, betwixt Heretics in Judgment, and Heretics in Free-Will; because I cannot believe that Men would ever depend upon Doctrines, which they know to be damnable; and give up their Salvation in Sport. This monstrous Opinion we neither should, nor can entertain of any Man. By mistaken Believers, I mean such Persons as, through the Persuasion of others, or the Weakness of their own Understandings, are involuntarily brought into Error. And I call those Impostors, who, out of Pride, Lucre, or Self-Advantage, propagate Doctrines which they do not believe. In the primitive Christian Church, none but such Impostors were deemed Heretics; with whom no Communion was held: whilst deluded Believers were looked upon

upon as weak Members of the Church, and rather pitied than hated.

The Conversion of mistaken Believers can neither be wrought, nor should be attempted, by Power or Penalty. To endeavour the Conversion of a Heretic by Force, is as absurd as to attempt storming a Castle by Logic. It is not the Body of the Heretic we are to correct, but his wrong Notions; which feel no corporal Punishment. A Man may, by Stripes, be compelled to say he believes; but we cannot thereby really compel him to believe. A blind Man may be compelled to say he sees; but no Beating will give him Eyesight. Weak Eyes must be cured by proper Applications, Sicknefs by fuitable Remedies, and erroneous Opinions by Argument and Persuasion. Indeed the Punishments formerly used, and defended in Writing, for the Conversion of Heretics, begin to be thought so shameful, as to require a different Colouring; especially since it appears, that harsh Procedure has here no other Effect, than turning erroneous Believers into abominable Hypocrites.

The *Persian* King, *Schach Abas*, being informed that certain *Jews*, in his Dominions, had been compelled, or enticed, to change their Religion; he gave them Permission to profess it again. The great *Russian* Emperor carried this Matter so far, that some perhaps may censure him. He had a foreign Major-General in his Service, who, to gain the greater Favour, became a Convert to the *Greek* Church; upon which the *Czar* gave him his Dismission, in these Words: "If you

How to
be con-
verted.

Tolerati-
on.

“ are not true to God, in the Religion wherein
 “ you was educated; can I expect you should
 “ prove true to me? Every Man may judge of
 this Behaviour as he pleases; I look upon it as an
 Ornament in the History of the *Czar*.

This genuine Reformer has shewn, that Religious Differences are not inconsistent with the Tranquillity of a Country. Prudent Regulation in Religious Affairs, has produced as great Harmony at *Moscow*, as Persecution has raised Disturbance in other Countries.

A well-grounded Toleration can have no bad Effects. But a well-grounded Toleration excludes all such Intermixture of contending Parties, as Experience shews to be impracticable, or mischievous. The *Utrecht* Pastor mistook the Thing, who had two opposite Congregations in the same Church; celebrated Mass in the Morning, and preached a Calvinistical Sermon in the Afternoon. Mr. *Locke* has laid down a Plan for a solid Toleration; so as to procure Tranquillity among a People consisting of different Sects.

Fanatics.

(2.) It appears as hopeless to reclaim a Fanatic by Persuasion, as to convince a Heretic by Stripes. It is fruitless to dispute, where Men are not agreed upon Principles. A Fanatic is singly guided by his own internal Motive, or Instinct, which he terms his Conscience and his Call. He lays no Stress upon his Understanding; and therefore it is idle to reason with him. A different kind of Cure is here required, from that to be used with a Heretic. A Physician, in this Case, may prove
 more

more successful than a Divine. I take Fanaticism for a real Disease, or a kind of hypochondriacal Affection. Experience shews, that those we commonly call the *Enlightened*, have usually their Bodies overloaded with Bile, and corrupted Humours. Many Fanatics have been cured by Medicines, so as totally to lose their Gift of Prophecy, their Calls, or their Commissions; and again become sound Members of the Community.

Fanatics tell us, “ We must obey God rather than Man,” which is true when taken in a proper Sense: but the Fanatic frequently confounds the Will of God with his own Conceit; Conscience with Weakness of Judgment; spiritual Calls with Phantasms; Firmness with Obstinacy; Piety and Devotion with Superstition and Melancholy: and hence this excellent Maxim, from their Mouths, may deceive us. For, our obeying God rather than Man, should be understood of what God expressly commands in his Word; and not of what Men may fancy, or find, or feel, in their own Spirit. There are different kinds of Spirits in the World; some good and some bad. No body is directed by a good Spirit, who, to follow his own Inclination, renounces and tramples upon the Laws both of God and Man.

Fanatics may be good Men, in declaring their Opinions freely; and practising what they take for their Duty; but they are such good Men as can be least tolerated in a State; because they are not contented to believe their own Reveries; but frequently endeavour to regulate other Men’s Consciences according to their own: which is as

unfair, as a Gamester's insisting upon that Card being Trump, of which he has most in his Hand.

I refrain from mentioning those terrible Effects, which we have sometimes seen produced by Fits of Fanaticism ; for fear of touching too closely upon People, who might mean well, both to God and their Neighbour ; and therefore deserve Pity, rather than Persecution. I barely say that, of all Sectaries, Fanatics are the least to be tolerated in any Government. For tho' other Sectaries may be guilty of Error, yet they shew regard to Civil Society ; join in Obedience to Governors ; despise not the Laws of God, nor trample upon the Laws of Nature : whereas the Fanatic makes his own Conscience his Law ; and places a Merit in propagating it, or even dying a Martyr to it. For this Reason, Fanatics are unsuitable Subjects, with whom others cannot live safe in Society.

Suppose a tolerated Fanatic should take another Man's Wife, and detain her as his own ; excusing himself that he acts according to his Conscience, which tells him, " All Things are common among the Children of the Lord : " such a Fanatic cannot be sued at Law, with so great an Effect as an indifferent Citizen, who is bound by all the Laws of his Country. Nor can the Law itself here proceed, as with other Subjects, to examine and punish the Offender ; but has, in some degree, tied up its own Hands, by giving a Right of Distinction to an Inhabitant, who makes his own separate Conscience his Rule of Action. Here my Toleration is not plenary ; tho' I have a natural Compassion and Tenderneſs for Offenders of all Sorts,

In order to indulge Fanatics, as far as Safety will permit, they might have separate Districts assigned them; where their disorderly Notions and Practices can do no Hurt.

Perhaps Laws for this Purpose, should include Catholics, certain Catholics, but particularly Jesuits, who indulge no other Christian Sect; and, wherever themselves are indulged the Liberty of Settling, endeavour to propagate their own Opinions. Such People as hold it a Virtue to kill the Father, in order to bring the Son under Popish Dominion, cannot justly complain of being refused the Right of Protestant Subjects.

The Objection is groundless, which has been made to certain Protestant Nations, on account of "tolerating Jews, and refusing the Right of Subjects to Catholic Christians:" for the Question is not, who commit the greatest Errors, *Jews* or *Catholics*; but which of them teach Doctrines contrary to the Nature of Government: and therefore the Motives to Exclusion, in this Case, arise not so much from Hatred, as Fear. In a besieged Town, part of the Inhabitants are, by the Garrison, justly driven out of the Place; for fear of Famine and Disturbance. Princes dare not sometimes permit a foreign Army to pass through their Dominions. Of the like Nature are the Cautions practised by Protestants against Catholics; and may justly be defended against all the Objections of the *Jesuits*.

(3.) Atheists are of two Sorts, Speculative and Practical. The Speculative are sunk so deep into themselves, as not only to deny a Revelation, but

Atheists
theoreti-
cal and
practical

How to be cured. but even the Existence of a God. They may

be looked upon, in some Degree, as deluded Heretics ; who, by bad Company, bad Books, and want of Judgment, are seduced into Disbelief.

The practical Atheists are those, who, leading a wicked Life, find their Solace in hoping there may be no God, no future Reward or Punishment. In the Cure of such Profligates, neither Arguments nor Medicines have any Effect ; so that Stripes and Punishment are the only Means we can use to correct them. And Experience shews, that such kind of Discipline may succeed, when other Treatment has failed.

To cure the Speculative Atheist, nothing should be used but Discourse or Writing ; for as he might have been led into Disbelief by plausible Writing, or Discourse ; there are Hopes of reclaiming him by sound Doctrine, and prudent Exhortation. With this View, a Speculative Atheist may, for some time, be tolerated in a Republic ; but a perpetual Indulgence must needs be improper. I cannot agree, with Mr. *Bayle*, that a good Republic may be composed of Atheists ; because an Atheist, who allows no God but his own Pride or Advantage, will not scruple to commit the worst of Crimes, provided he can be concealed from Men.

It is no wonder that Atheists should be converted to Religion ; but that any Man should attempt to convert the Religious to Atheism, is astonishing. With what Zeal will some People endeavour to destroy the Belief of others ; yet
acknowledge

acknowledge no Risk can be run by retaining it? They who plead for Infidelity, acknowledge it has no Advantages to recommend it. Superstitious Zeal is culpable; but infidel Zeal is ridiculous. A superstitious Zealot has the Pretence of communicating a saving Faith; and, in the Heat of his Zeal, will sometimes persecute; as thinking the Soul is to be saved by it. This Procedure is intelligible: but a converting Atheist has no Excuse to alledge. He would propagate his Opinion, yet owns it is barren. He tempts and entices, but has nothing to give. He takes Pains to make Profelytes, yet bids them expect no Reward. Suppose a Serjeant should employ his Rhetoric to raise Recruits, and declare he had no Listing-Money to give; no Pay to promise? Let his Speech be ever so artful, no body could think it sensible. The Zeal of a converting Atheist is Folly of the first Magnitude. He is like a mad Gamester, who sweats, and boxes the Dice about all Day long, but plays for nothing.

I disapprove of Severity to those who err unwillingly. I make a Difference in the Punishment of the Deluded; and would have no body suffer for Opinions; but be restrained from spreading such Doctrines as may hurt Society. An Atheist who endeavours to propagate Unbelief, so as to sap the Foundation of Government, ought, in my Opinion, to be banished. If any zealous *Monk*, or *Jesuit*, attempt, among us, to subvert the Religion established, he ought to receive the *Consilium abeundi*. A zealous Anabaptist, who

who holds it sinful to punish with Death, may be deposed from the Office of a Judge. A Quaker, who holds Defensive War unlawful, should not command a Frontier.

I am at Peace with all who mean well towards God and their Neighbour. We look upon those as Brethren who agree with us in external Professions of Faith; but should rather esteem those such, who agree with us in Virtue and Piety; tho' they may hold certain Opinions contrary to ours. No right-intentioned Man should be reviled or persecuted: for tho' he may err, it is unknowingly, or unwillingly; and if he endeavours after Truth, or is ready to hear and consider the Arguments of others, he should be cherished and encouraged. They are inhumane who censure and condemn their Neighbour, merely for his want of Capacity to understand a Proposition. No good Man will trample upon Justice and Equity; or, in Zeal for Orthodoxy, run headlong into Faction.

Infidelity. The compelling of Infidels, by Pains and Penalties, to subscribe Articles of Faith; the obliging them verbally to renounce, or, under their Hands, to condemn, or retract, whatever they may have spoke, or wrote, against certain Points of Divinity; the forcing, or over-persuading such Persons publicly to declare themselves Believers, are all Means unsuitable to the End proposed; and rather serve to propagate Infidelity, than promote Religion and Virtue: because the Mind is thereby imbittered, and a Suspicion raised of Weakness in the Doctrines of Revelation. For, Men are
not

not accustomed to use Force, when Argument will prevail.

(4.) True Religion consists in the Love of God; and to force Love by Power, is not only an impracticable, but a pernicious Attempt; as we see in all Instances. A false Wife may, by rigorous Means, be brought to say she loves her Husband; or an undutiful Son his Parents; but such harsh Means turn Indifference into Aversion, and not into Love. Coolness
in Reli-
gion.

There is no Way of conquering Indifference in Religion, but by proper Instruction, and Example. How
cured. The Missionary who catechizes with the Rod in his Hand, does not make such good Converts as the mild and gentle Pastor. For, if once we take an Aversion to our Teachers, we are apt to transfer it to the Doctrines taught. Imprudent Severity makes the smarting Disciple hate his Learning: but Good-Nature and Sweetness in the Master make the Boys love both him and their Books.

Teachers, to promote the Cause of Religion and Virtue, can use nothing more effectual than Example. If a Physician, in his own Case, refuses to take the same Medicine he prescribes to others, we can have no Confidence in him. A contentious Man makes few Converts to Peace. A proud, covetous, or debauched Preacher may deliver excellent Discourses in praise of Humility, Generosity, and Sobriety, without making a single Convert. The Hearers look upon such a Preacher as a Brother-Sufferer, sick of the same Disease. *Non magis prodest talis Præceptor,*

Præceptor, quam Gubernator in Tempestate nauſeabundus. “ Such Teachers are of as little Service “ in a State, as Sea-sick Pilots in a Ship.” When a vicious Preacher censures Vice, his Congregation thinks he is joking. He may exclaim and denounce as much as he pleases, in hopes of prevailing ; but he convinces no Mortal of the Wickedness of his Ways, nor makes one Sinner repent.

VI.

How Posts may be well filled ; and
the Public well served.

Wrong
Destinati-
ons of
Men.

THERE are many Failings, or Disqualifications, in Men, not owing to any Defect of Understanding, or of Parts ; but to the Want of directing them suitably to what they are. It would be hard to shew that all Capacities are equipollent ; but I presume few Men would be found unserviceable, if placed in their natural Stations.

Societies
for exa-
mining the
Capacities
of Youth.

It might prove a most useful Institution, if Societies were erected, whose Office it should be to examine the Genius of young People ; in order to discover wherein their Strength consists, and to what kind of Studies, Employments, or Posts, they are naturally best suited. For, by this Means most Subjects might become beneficial to the Public ; and all the Posts of Government be well supplied : whereas, we now hear daily Complaints
of

the want of proper Persons to direct Affairs, in most of the *European* Countries; whilst the Youth of each Country are condemned to Studies, and matriculated into certain Arts, or Employments, before they arrive at Years of Discretion.

Some Parents, soon after the Birth of a Boy, will give him the Title of the Post, or Occupation, for which they intend him. But herein they seldom judge right; and it is owing to something extraordinary, if such blind Schemes should succeed. The Father sometimes designs his Son for a Judge, because the Grandfather was one: which may be as absurd, as to destine a weakly Child for a Racer; or a purblind Boy for a Painter. Tho' nothing is more ridiculous, yet nothing is more common than this Procedure. And if we examine into Families, we shall find most Parents usurp this Privilege; but especially the Mother. We frequently hear the Husband say, "I would have my Son a Lawyer; but his Mother has resolved to make him a Parson."

Children
not to be
forced.

Certain Parents destine their Children to an Office, or Profession, on account of Size, or Stature. When we hear of such Designs, we are apt to smile: and what can be more absurd than to lay a Lad out for a Colonel, because he is tall or lusty; or design him for an Alderman, because he has a large Belly? Whilst such Absurdities prevail, and Children are destined to the Office, or Profession, of their Parents, before an Opportunity can be had of seeing whether they have a Genius for it; we need not wonder that States should

Nor pre-
destined
to Profes-
sions.

should be at a Loss for well qualified Men, to fill up the necessary Posts of Government ; or that so many weak People should be found in great Offices.

Whence a
general
Want of
able Men.

I know this Misfortune is generally ascribed to the natural Decay of a Country, or its growing so barren, as not to produce able Men : but the Soil, the Climate, and the Air, cannot be justly blamed. The Barrenness arises merely from Folly, Neglect of Education, and the Want of a proper Choice and Direction. Governors and Parents should follow the Example of Husbandmen, who try and examine the Nature of their Land, before they sow it ; for the best Seed may be thrown away, upon improper Ground : and when the Crop fails, it is not so much the Fault of the Seed, or the Soil, as of the Sower. Great Care should be taken of Children, who are the Plants of a Community : and if this were really done, every Country would be supplied with Persons properly qualified for all the Employments and Stations of Life.

The Fault
of Parents.

The Want of able Men arises partly from the wrong Management of Parents ; and partly from a Neglect in the Administration. The Fault of Parents consists in endeavouring to force a Child's Nature : which is the Way to turn an useful into an useless Subject ; or make a Person, who might have been an Honour, become a Disgrace, to his Country. A Judge, who is laughed at upon the Bench, might have made a good General ; if his natural Genius had not been dragged to the Bar. What is once stamped for a
Shilling

Shilling, will not pass current for a Guinea. We may give what external Stamps we please; they do not alter the internal Nature of Things. If Children resembled their Parents in mental Endowments, as they sometimes do in external Appearance, this Practice might prove harmless to Society: but since Experience shews, that Children's Minds are often as unlike those of their Parents, as their Bodies are like; it is improper, and even foolish, in Parents, to make their Children pursue the same Studies, or Employments, which they follow, or approve, for themselves. And, on this Account, the *Chinese* are deservedly censured, for obliging every Son to follow the Profession of his Father.

Children are not to be treated like young Brutes. A Hound may, immediately after it is whelped, be justly enrolled in the Kennel; and a Gun-Dog be bred up with the Spaniels; because Experience shews, that these Puppies possess the Qualities of the Breed they come from. But how often do we see, among Men, that a Fool shall descend from a wise Man; a Coward from a Hero, and *vice versâ*? *Aridæus* and *Alexander* were Brothers; but very unlike in their Talents. It may seem needless to produce Examples of this kind from History; since common Observation supplies us with Plenty.

King *Antigonus* desired to take the famous Philosopher *Bion Borystenites* into the Royal Retinue; but asked him previously, whether he came of a good Family: *Bion* replied, " My Father was branded in the Forehead; he mar-

T

" ried

“ ried my Mother out of a Brothel ; and was
 “ afterwards expelled the City as a Malefactor.
 “ But thou, O King, mayest rather examine what
 “ I am, than what my Parents were. If your Ma-
 “ jesty wants a Marksman, you do not ask him
 “ whether his Father was a Marksman ; but try
 “ whether the Son can shoot.”

Children's
 natural
 Talents
 to be dis-
 covered.

As it is common for Children to degenerate
 from their Parents ; I judge, that the parental
 Power should here be restrained : because every
 Man has not a Capacity to judge what Occupati-
 on is fittest for his Son ; and because Fathers
 have seldom the Design of placing their Sons
 in their most natural Situation ; but rather endea-
 vour to make them obedient, and serviceable to
 the Family, than to supply the State with useful
 Subjects : Parents therefore should maintain and
 support their Children ; but the Government
 appoint their Instruction, and Training.

But, in our Schools, the different Scholars have
 one and the same Task proposed them ; and are all
 instructed after one and the same Manner ; which
 occasions the greatest Disproportion and Dissimila-
 rity in the Learners ; some whereof shall hence
 be extolled as Prodigies of Parts ; and others be
 looked upon as Abortives, incapable of coming
 to Good : tho' they might all be good, provided
 each acted in his suitable Sphere.

I remember two Boys at School, upon whom
 no Instruction, or Correction, took effect ; so
 that they were both dismissed, with Disgrace.
 They went to the Capital, applied themselves to
 Mathematics, and became great Mathematicians.
 Nature, it seems, had furnished them with sound
 Under-

Understandings, but weak Memories ; and therefore, whilst their Employment at School consisted in construing their Lessons, or getting Scraps of *Latin* and *Greek* by Heart, their Memories failed them ; but when they came to Mathematics, a Study that requires the Exercise of the Reason more than the Memory, these stupid Boys were presently changed into able Men. A Gentleman desiring a Philosopher to direct him what kind of Study he should pursue ; the Philosopher advised him “ to follow Nature ;” thereby admonishing him to examine his own natural Talents , and apply to such Sciences as he found himself best fitted for. But this capital Rule is generally neglected, even by sensible People ; who thereby cross and confound the Designs of Nature ; and bury, or suppress, the Talents which she has given us for our Strength and Ornament ; whilst Brutes, by Instinct, exercise those Parts of their Bodies, wherein their Force and Defence consist.

If thy Son be more diligent than ingenious, bring him up to an Art or Trade, rather than to Philosophy or Divinity ; because it is better, and more reputable, to be a good Painter, or Architect, than an ordinary Philosopher, or Divine ; better to be an able Farmer, than a heavy Senator. Perhaps, as your Son is of a good Family, you may think it too mean to make him a Tradesman : but then consider which is more honourable, a serviceable Mechanic, or an incapable Scholar. Laudable Ambition consists in filling a Post, or sustaining a Character, with Reputation.

The Neg-
lect of
Govern-
ors.

The Mischief is heightened by Governors; who confer Offices more out of Affection and Party, than Reason and Justice. This is fatal: for tho' a Country should abound with Persons of great natural Abilities, such a preposterous Management would not suffer one to appear; but render them all incapable. If an able Artist be made a weak Senator; or if a good Senator be unsuitably made a Judge; such a Metamorphosis turns two useful Men into noxious Animals. The best Set of Comedians may act odiously, if they change Parts; and yet the Actors not be blameable, but their Directors. Indeed the Managers of Theatres are careful in the Distribution of Parts; so as to make each Player shine in his Character. But tho' this be well observed on the Stage, it is strangely neglected in the World. *An Histrio hoc videbit in Scená, quod Sapiens non videbit in Vitâ?*

Antisthenes remarked the like Disorder and Confusion, in his Time, at *Athens*; and therefore petitioned the Government, to publish an Order for "turning all Horses into Asses." Every one was surprized at such a Petition; but he alledged, that "such Changes happened every Day amongst Men:" thus giving them to understand, that Places were disposed of without regard to Men's Qualifications; so that one Man was made a Judge without a Head, and another a General without a Heart.

Few Men
of general
Genius.

We cannot call a Trump in Life, as we do at Cards. Set a Man in any Station, or style him as you please, he remains the same Man. It is best

best to employ every Man in the Way of his Abilities ; without regard to his State or Condition, his Birth or Religion. If we want a Physician, we do not enquire for one that is learned ; but for one that is skilful. Indeed there are some universal Geniuses, who have a Turn for all the Sciences : but their Number is small ; and the most of them usually superficial ; or rarely so knowing in a Subject, as those who wholly apply to it.

I therefore repeat, that “ nothing can be
 “ of greater Utility to a Country, than the pro-
 “ per Institution of a College, or Office, con-
 “ sisting of capable Men, appointed to examine
 “ the natural Talents, and Capacities, of young
 “ People ; and make a Report what Studies,
 “ Occupations, and Business, they find each
 “ Person naturally best suited for.” But these Judges must be prudently chose, as Men of Experience, Sagacity, and Weight ; because their Office is momentous, and requires Talents rarely to be found in mere Scholars, or Fellows of Colleges.

A Probation Office wanted.

The Scheme may be difficult to bring into Execution ; yet I judge it not impracticable. The Probation, in such a Seminary, might be continued in a Variety of Trials ; till it plainly appeared wherein the respective Strength of each Pupil consisted. As Matters are managed at present, Youth spend the best Part of their Time in the learning of such Things as they ought to forget ; so that after their Academical Studies are finished, they usually apply themselves to such Subjects as suit their Genius, or Inclination.

Loss of Time at Schools.

What a miserable Loss of Time is this? The Prime of our Lives for the learning of what should be useful to ourselves and others, a Season never to be recalled, is thus irretrievably lost!

That a Foundation, to prevent this shocking Loss both of public and private Happiness, is practicable, appears from the old *Persian* Laws; which provided, that no Parents should, at their own Pleasure, instruct their Children; but be obliged to send them to public Seminaries, instituted for the Purpose; from whence they did not return to their Parents, till the Age of Seventeen. Indeed the Care of those Seminaries was not committed to Men who taught for Hire; but intrusted to the Direction and Management of Persons distinguished by their Virtue, and Birth; who instructed their Pupils more in Manners than the Sciences; more in Morality and the Duties of Life, than in Logic or Rhetoric.

VII.

Of good Government.

What the
best kind
of Go-
vernment.
Monar-
chy.

IT has long been debated what kind of Government is most productive of Happiness to a Country. Some hold *Monarchy* best suited to this End, as coming nearest to the Patriarchal Government, in which the Heads of Families ruled without Controul. Indeed, the first Governments appear to have been Monarchical: for Kings succeeded the Patriarchs. But some of these

these early Kings making a bad Use of their Power; Societies found it necessary to restrain them by Law: wherein consists the Difference betwixt Absolute and Limited Government. Absolute, and limited Government.

Under limited Government, the more wealthy Citizens shared in the Administration; which Aristocracy. proving a most agreeable Thing to them, they endeavoured to curb and weaken Kingly Authority; and to extend and confirm their own. Their Attempts were so successful, that Regal Power dwindled by Degrees, and at length vanished. This proved the Origin of *Aristocracy*: wherein the rich and powerful Gentry became possessed of Sovereign Authority. The People received this Alteration contentedly at first; as thinking it hard that a whole Country should be governed by the Will of a single Person: and the Gentry, or what we now call the Nobility, encouraged and confirmed the People in this Opinion, by exclaiming against Monarchy; which they painted in such black Colours, as rendered the very Name odious and terrible.

But, the People afterwards finding this Democracy. Change of Government proceeded more from Pride in the Nobility, than from any Desire of promoting the Good of Communities; and that, instead of one King, twenty petty Princes ruled them; they grew uneasy, and introduced such an Equality, as gave every Citizen a Share in the Administration. This was the Origin of *Democracy*; under which the whole People assembled, to consult of Peace and War,

Laws, and Edicts ; and to give their Voices on all important Occasions.

Certain Countries grew so fond of this popular Rule, that they endeavoured to support it with their utmost Might : but here also it came to be observed, in Time, that *Democracy* was as liable to Inconveniencies, as the other Forms of Government ; and that the old Disease remained, tho' under a different Shape. For, this Power, or Liberty, so much coveted by the People, occasioned Cabals, Parties, Factions, and Civil-Wars.

Anarchy. Indeed all rigid Governments may change to *Anarchy*, or no Government at all ; which is the greatest Misfortune that can happen to a People : and it has often been found necessary to introduce Arbitrary Sway, in order to restore the ancient Strength and Form to a Country, and prevent its Ruin. And hence the Question, “ Which kind of Government is best for the People ? ” remains undecided to this Day.

All prudent Government good.

It appears to me, that the Strength and Happiness of a People depend not upon any particular Form of Government ; but upon the Nature of the Governors. A prudent and just Administration will always produce good Government ; whether the Power be lodged in a single Hand ; or in many. Countries have soon flourished, and soon decayed, under one and the same Form of Government. *Rome* under Kingly Administration, quickly grew strong, and quickly weak. Under the Great Council it at first stood firm, but sickened presently after. The same Changes it also suffered under the Government of the People. The very

very Liberty which gives Being to a State at one Time, threatens it with Destruction at another. When a *Romulus*, an *Augustus*, a *Trajan*, or an *Antonine*, sits upon the Throne, no Government is better than the Monarchical. When an *Aristocracy* is composed of such Men as *Valerius*, *Fabricius*, *Cato*, or other virtuous Patriots, the People are happy. The Form of Government in *England* has remained unaltered for these hundred Years; and been propped up to a Wonder: yet it is observable that *England*, under the same kind of Government, has been sometimes powerful and flourishing; and soon after reduced to the Brink of Ruin. The Crown is now settled upon the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, as it was upon the Line of *Stuart*. The Kingdom is now strong, and almost unanimous, that before was subject to all Sorts of Disturbances. But strong Ships may strike upon Rocks, if Pilots are unskilful. To what End serve Riches and Strength in a Country, if Governors know not how to use them? And to what Purpose are good Laws enacted, if their Execution be neglected?

It was not any particular Form of Government that rendered the *Lacedemonians* happy; or gave them the Advantage over the rest of *Greece*. The Excellence of *Lycurgus* did not consist in tempering Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy together, and thereby preserving a Balance of Dominion. Many other States have done this, with equal Prudence, yet without becoming one Jot the happier. I do not esteem *Lycurgus* for establishing any particular Government; but for his
Prudence,

Prudence, in depriving the Governors of all Opportunity, and even the Will, or Desire, of abusing their Authority, and acting wrong. This, perhaps, may be called impossible; since we cannot be certain, that Governors shall always be prudent; or that Virtue and Sense shall descend by Inheritance. But tho' Experience shews, that good and bad Governors happen interchangeably; I think it practicable to make Virtue hereditary in Princes.

It is well known, that in *Lacedemon*, the succeeding Governors were almost constantly virtuous, like the preceding: which was owing to the original Foundation of their Government; whereby the Virtue and true Patriotism, so deeply rooted in the Hearts of the first Founders, were propagated to their Successors.

The old
Egyptian
Govern-
ment.

In ancient *Egypt* the Kingdom was hereditary, and the Power of their Kings, (who were esteemed more as Gods than Men,) uncontrollable. They most sacredly and inviolably observed the Laws; and never departed from the virtuous Practices of their Predecessors. Every Morning, they read the Papers delivered in to illustrate and explain all Matters of State, upon which Judgment was to be given. They next went to the Temple to pray; where the High-Priest held a Discourse upon the Duty of a King; and pointed out Failures in the Government. These Discourses were so conducted, as to let no Blame fall upon the Monarch; but only upon his Ministers. And the Kings of *Egypt* never received these Admonitions ungraciously; it

t being a settled Law, and Custom, of the Country, from its first Foundation, to hear them favourably. Their Kings, being in this Manner constantly excited to their Duty, became the most virtuous Persons of the whole Country ; so that very few indifferent or bad Princes were ever found among them. When a bad Prince happened, he was not set aside ; but the public Judgment passed upon him after his Decease : which had such an Effect, that *Egypt* was rarely ill governed. Almost all their Kings were internally and affectionately beloved by their Subjects ; who bewailed and lamented their Death, with as much real Sorrow, as Children do the Death of their Parents. And hence it may appear, that it is possible, by sensible and judicious Institutions and Regulations, to make Virtue hereditary in Princes.

The Founder of the ancient *Peruvian* Government, *Ynca Manco Capac*, had no formed Design of following any artificial Plan : his principal View was to imprint a deep Notion of Virtue in his Successors. To effect this, he gave himself out to be a Son, and his Wife a Daughter of the Sun ; and laid the strictest Injunctions on his Descendants, to marry only with those of the same sublime Original ; for fear of staining their high Blood, or losing of their innate Dignity and Virtue. This Injunction, being eagerly embraced by the Royal Family, was established as an inviolable Law. And hence the Successors of *Manco Capac*, (finding it necessary to avoid Enormities, in order to keep up the Veneration of the People to the Royal Line,) never deviated into Vice,

The ancient Peruvian Government.

Vice, and rendered the *Peruvian* Government the happiest we have any Account of.

Manco Capac pretending he was sent from Heaven, on purpose to introduce Virtue on Earth, endeavoured, by prudent Admonition and virtuous Example, rather than Force, to win over the wild Natives of the Southern *America*. If mild persuasive Methods failed, he tried to reduce them by cutting off their Provisions, or Means of Subsistence. When they were brought to Straits and Necessities, he represented to them the Happiness of the other Part of the People who had submitted to his Government. And these very Means being used by all his Successors, a great Tract of *South-America* was brought under their Dominion. No wild Native repented of becoming a Subject to such a Government where nothing but Virtue appeared, both in Prince and People; and where the Sway was so gentle, that the Governors behaved as Parents, and the People as Children.

The History of *Guanacava*, the last of the *Yncas* of this Kingdom, shews how affectionately these Kings were beloved by their Subjects. *Guanacava* was engaged in an Expedition, with his Army, to *Quinto*, in order to reduce the Country; the Road to which was almost impracticable, on account of high Rocks, and deep Valleys; but having happily reduced *Quinto*, his Subjects, to facilitate his Return, voluntarily undertook the immense Labour of levelling the Road, by cutting thro' the Rocks, and filling up the Valleys, for many hundred Miles together.

her. And finding their King took Delight in this Province, they voluntarily and chearfully made a new Road, with the same Labour and Difficulty, on the other Side, that he might have the Pleasure of going by the one, and returning by the other: both which he constantly found strewed with green Branches, and fresh Flowers. I pass over other Manifestations of the tender Regard which the *Peruvians* had for their Kings, and the numerous Particulars which shew how happy they both were in such a paternal Government. It is scarce possible to read, without Tears, that such a Country as this should be ravaged and destroyed by the *Spaniards*. Nothing can be more moving and afflicting, than to see savage *Europeans* go about to reform a People, who set them a genuine Example of Virtue, worthy of Imitation.

We find nothing complicated in the *Peruvian* Government: the Country was entirely subject to Despotic Power. The Wisdom of the Founder improved it only in the single Point of eradicating Vice from among the Rulers; and planting Virtue in its Stead, so deep that they neither had the Power nor the Will to efface it. And the Effect would probably have been the same, tho' the Government had been of a different Form, and the Prince had been assisted by the Nobles, or called a Parliament. Indeed I should not advise other Founders to use the same Means as *Manco Capac* did; because he built upon an unwarranted and fabulous Pretension. But other laudable Means might be used for the same Purpose, capable of producing

producing as good Effects. And hence I infer, that none of the common Forms of Government, mentioned by *Aristotle*, can be called perfect; that each of them has its Inconveniencies; and that a prudent and virtuous Administration, alone, can render a People happy.

The Office, Glory, and Honour of Princes. It might next be proper to speak of the Duty of a Prince. This is certainly no Subject for a juvenile Writer, unversed in History, or unskilled in the Management of his own Affairs. Such Persons are often eager to dictate upon the Nature of Government. And tho' my Age, Reading, and Observation, might, in some measure, qualify me for the Task; yet I dare not venture upon it; but resign it into the Hands of venerable, virtuous, and experienced Statesmen, who alone are qualified to write, with suitable Weight and Dignity, on so momentous a Subject. I only presume that every Kingdom may justly be called happy, where the Prince duly considers who he is, or to what purpose ordained; that the Country he governs, is rather a Trust than an Inheritance; that his Subjects are to be regarded as his Children; that he belongs more to the Country, than the Country to him; that he is appointed a Pattern to the People; that he is entrusted with their Happiness; and that the Great Judge of all Things will examine how every Prince has discharged his Duty, when his Life and Office shall expire together.

The true Greatness and Happiness of a Prince are inseparable from the Greatness and Happiness of his People. Every Prince should bear this in

fallible

fallible Truth in Mind, That He and his Subjects are one Body ; where the smallest Part cannot suffer but the whole must be hurt. Indeed the Prince may be compared to the Soul, which animates the Body ; yet is but a Part incapable of operating, unless the other Parts co-operate with him. When Matters really go well with the King, they really go well with the People, and *vice versa*. If a due Temper be not preserved ; if either the King or People gain any separate Ascendant, or Advantage, the whole Structure is in Danger ; and, unless timely remedied, must fall.

Constant Experience shews, that the primary Honour and Felicity of Princes consist in preserving this Harmony ; and not in high Station, Power, or extensive Dominions, which are all nothing without it ; and that the just and right Execution of their divine Office is their greatest Glory, and sincerest Joy. Their high Station generally obliges them to lead a constrained Life. Great Power, and Extent of Territory, are an Incumbrance, and a Burthen : but the Conscience of faithfully discharging their Duty, and endeavouring to render their Subjects happy, is the true Solace of the Labours and Sufferings of Princes.

Players, who represent both Kings and Subjects, have their Parts assigned them ; and whether the Part be high or low, they endeavour to play it well ; knowing that the Applause which good Actors receive, is not given to the Part they act, but to their just Performance. What a Prince enjoys
by

by Birth, or Accident, is no Honour of his own acquiring, and can give him no great Joy ; but if he is conscious that, by promoting his own true Happiness and Welfare, he actually promotes the Happiness and Welfare of his Subjects ; this will afford him real Pleasure, and solid Satisfaction. Then he may justly say with *Augustus*, at his Departure, *Plaudite !*

Princes are called Fathers of their Country ; and may justly merit that glorious Title by never attempting to build their own Happiness on any other Foundation than the Happiness of their People. When Subjects are once convinced that such Paternal Affection is born them by their Prince, they will risk their Lives to oblige him ; and voluntarily perform more than they could be constrained to do by Power. Discontent will be turned to Joy, Coolness to Love, Reluctance to Obedience, and Vice to Virtue. Princes actually have the Power of changing bad Subjects into good. *Nicanor* long railed against *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his Government ; till *Philip* enquiring into the Cause ; and finding it owing to narrow Circumstances ; a Present was made, which occasioned *Nicanor* to be as liberal of his Praise as he had been of his Blame : upon which the King said before his Courtiers, “ You see the “ Power of Princes.”

The Government
of Hungary.

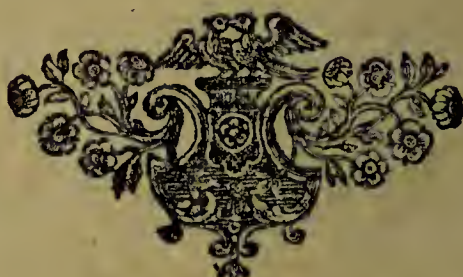
History shews, by numerous Examples, that a good Prince may re-cast his People, and give them another Form, as if their very Natures were changed, by Goodness. Let us compare the present with the former State of *Hungary* ; while the

the People long remained discontented with their Rulers. But as soon as the present Queen ascended the Throne, and gave her Subjects Proof of her maternal Affection to them, they were so wonderfully transformed as to be no longerlike their former selves. Their Aversion and Opposition to the Government changed into the warmest Affection; their Jealousy and Distrust, into Confidence and Assurance; and their Timidity into Courage and Ardour. A People who had so often turned their Backs upon the Enemies of the Empire, is now a Check to the greatest Potentates of *Europe*; and a despised Nation become an Honour to the North. This surprizing Change was not the Effect of artful Laws, new Regulations, or any Alteration in the Form of Government; but was produced by the single Virtue of the Queen, in maternally uniting herself to her People. She publicly spoke these Words: "I will be your Mother, if you will be my Children." This Overture, followed by convincing Proofs of Affection, entirely abolished all former Distrust; added fresh Vigour to the weak *Hungarians*; and gave them new Life and Being. May this, for the future, be esteemed the true Rule of Government! It certainly had such a quickening Virtue, such an enlivening Effect, that every Citizen, every Townsman, was spirited up, beyond their ordinary Strength, to support her Measures; insomuch that it was a Contention betwixt Father and Son, which of them should have the Honour and Happiness to venture his Life for so dear a Queen.

Doubtless, so long as her Imperial Majesty observes this charming State-Rule, her People will not be exceeded by any other in Virtue, Courage, and Fidelity : but if she should deviate from it, follow the Examples of some of her Predecessors, give Ear to the Councils of certain Priests, or suffer Jesuits to cool her motherly Affection towards her People ; who have given such Demonstrations of their Love to her Administration ; and desire no other Reward than Liberty of Conscience ; if this, I say, should ever be the Case, the People would presently relapse into their former weak and piteous State ; we should again hear of nothing but Contentions, Disturbances, Conspiracies, and Despair from that Quarter ; nay her Subjects would apply to the Enemies of their Country, and seek to be defended from her Government, even by Mahometans. But this is a Thing never to be suspected ; and therefore the present Form of Government in *Hungary* may be called excellent ; because the Head and the Limbs are firmly knit together ; and all the Parts of this political Body so closely united, that the Happiness of the Country is provided for as the Happiness of a single Person. The Treasury of the Queen is looked upon, by her Subjects, as the Bank of the Public ; wherein every Member has his Share : and every Citizen looks upon his own Property as her's, or a Treasure set apart for her Use, when Occasion calls for it.

My Design is not to depreciate Acts of Settlement, or fundamental Laws of Government, as any way useless or unnecessary. I admire the noble Institutions of several Founders and Law-givers; and acknowledge their Use: but I say, that the Inconveniencies of Society cannot be removed, unless prudent, just, and experienced Governors sit at the Helm. The very best Laws are no more than a dead Letter, if not brought into Action. State-Failings may be laid open to public View, by new Laws and Regulations; but cannot be rectified, so long as great personal Vices remain in a Ministry. *Solon* and *Lycurgus* founded two famous Republics. The Laws of *Solon* were good, and well grounded; but the *Athenian* State was still subject to the same Weaknesses as before; and fell to Pieces even in the Life-time of its Founder; who regarded the Building more than the Support; the Ship and the Rudder more than the Steersman. *Lycurgus* took less Pains than *Solon*, in the making of good Laws; but greater in bringing them into perpetual Use; which cannot be effected without the Aid of perpetually virtuous Ministers, who neither have the Power, nor the Will, to be vicious. And here lay the Master-piece of *Lycurgus*; which had such an Effect, that *Lacedemon* continued in an uninterrupted flourishing State, for hundreds of Years, without being liable to Alteration.

To repeat it again, all Sorts of Government are good, when the Administration is virtuous, prudent, and suitable to the Country. Absolute *Monarchy* may promote the Happiness of a People as well as an *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*. Nor is there any Necessity for a *Salique* Law; since Female Reigns may be happy: of which, among others, we have two shining Examples in Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and Queen *Margaret* of *Denmark*.



S E C T. IV.

Of Religion and Revelation.

I.

Of Virtue and Vice.

VIRTUES and Vices ever remain what they are, tho' their Names change with Places, Times, and Persons. What is often called Sense in one Country, is called Want of Understanding in another; what in some Republics is called Patriotism, passes for Disaffection in certain Kingdoms; what is held true in one Nation, appears false in another; and certain Countries call that Faith, which in others is called Superstition. Hence Virtues are treated

Local
Virtues
and Vi-
ces.

as local Things, or received Opinions respecting the Place they prevail in.

Tempo-
rary Vir-
tues.

With regard to Times, Virtues and Vices may seem fashionable Things. An approved Custom in one Age, appears absurd in another; and a favourite Fashion at one Time, proves disagreeable at another. Piracy was formerly esteemed a Virtue; but Free-Booters, at present, are punishable with Death. Duelling has heretofore been ordered by the Government; but in later Times is restrained by Law. There are numerous Customs, which, whether they should be called Virtues or Vices, is hard to determine. Certain Actions are esteemed virtuous or vicious at present; but when the Fashion alters they will change their Names.

Personal
Virtues.

Virtues and Vices also differ, in public Esteem, according to the Persons who practise them. When two Men do the same Thing, it is not always the same Case; because the Action differs in respect of the Persons. Two Princes, of like Temper and Disposition, like Views and Designs, shall be differently judged of. A bad Prince has been sometimes accounted a good one, tho' his Government was cruel; and a good Prince has often been censured, because his Predecessor was more excellent. The Fame which *Augustus* procured was the greater, because *Tiberius* succeeded him: and the Hatred conceived against *Tiberius* was the less, because succeeded by *Caligula*. These two Emperors were therefore thought to shew Prudence in the Choice of their Successors; as the one thereby rendered himself

himself more amiable, and the other less odious. *Herod*, with all his Virtues, had great Vices. His Vices are described in the strongest Colours; but his Virtues overlooked, or turned to Vices, because he succeeded to the Throne from the House of *Asmon*, which the *Jews* abominated. It was a Disadvantage to King *Erick*, that he immediately succeeded Queen *Margaret*; and an Infelicity to King *James*, that he directly succeeded Queen *Elizabeth*, who had engrossed the Hearts of her Subjects.

The Moderns condemn many Doctrines as heretical, which were purely orthodox in ancient Times when such Doctrines were fashionable. Contradictory Judgements flow from the different Tempers and Situations of Men. A Point of Doctrine disregarded in one Man, may be censured in another, merely because it is unfashionable, and therefore may sometimes draw the Reproach of Infidelity upon him. All intelligent and impartial Men must acknowledge, that the Doctrine of *Jansenius* is no other than the Doctrine of St. *Augustin*; tho' what is looked upon as Heresy in the Modern, was esteemed a holy Doctrine in the Ancient. Men do not usually judge according to Doctrine; but according to the Form, Manner, and Phrase, in which it is delivered.

Fashionable Doctrines.

No body has censured *Plutarch's* Parallel of Superstition and Infidelity. "I wonder," says he, "that those who hold Infidelity as ungodly, do not make the same Judgment of Superstition. They who believe no Gods, are properly called ungodly; but is it not much more

“ impious to attribute the most abominable Vices, and Weaknesses, to the Gods? For my part, I had much rather People should say, there neither is nor was any such Man as *Plutarch*; than that, he was either of an inflexible, shameless, revengeful Temper, or spent his Life in Trifles.” If a Modern should have said as much, he would scarce have escaped Censure.

A large Catalogue might be made of Things that pass under different Names from what they deserve. Characters of Princes are often unjustly drawn. Every Historian, who would give the true Character of a Prince, must be careful to prevent being imposed upon by Words and Phrases: otherwise his Account may strangely impose both upon himself and his Readers. Many Princes, described in History as wicked and cruel, particularly *Dioclesian*, *Julian*, &c. may be changed into able Governors, by barely observing the Time in which their Histories were wrote. *Constantius*, *Ludovicus Pius*, &c. who are represented as Patterns of Virtue, may, by the same Observation, be deprived of their Glory. This Rule holds more particularly true in the *Monkish* Histories; where Virtues are manifestly changed into Vices, and Vices into Virtues. One of the greatest Rulers who ever sat upon the Throne, *Frederick II.* of *Denmark*, is painted by the *Monks* as the most odious Tyrant; whilst other worthless Princes are extolled to the Skies. Such Failings must be ascribed to the Temper and Disposition of the Authors, their Party-Spirit, or Partiality.

And

And here *Procopius* is an extraordinary Instance ; who, in most of his Writings describes *Justinian* as a great Prince ; yet, in a particular Piece, makes him a Monster : so much does the Character of the Prince alter with the Turn and Temper of the Historian. And if the History of *Nicolaus Damascenus* were extant, we might find a very different Account of *Herod*, from that which we have in *Josephus*. Virtues and Vices change Names according to casual Circumstances, especially among the Vulgar, tho' they remain the same among reasonable and intelligent Persons. Bad Painters may draw a *Medusa* for a *Venus*, yet *Venus* lose no Part of her Beauty.

One and the same Action frequently passes under the Name both of Virtue and Vice, or receives Praise or Blame from its Success or Failure ; and hence Wisdom is often termed Folly, and Folly Wisdom. Many a great General has been discredited, by the Failure of wise and good Attempts ; and many a weak Statesman passes for wise, by his weak Council luckily proving successful. The Vulgar seldom regard the Means, but the End ; and see nothing of the Conduct, Design, and prudent Steps of the Wise.

Catiline and *Cæsar* were both bad Men ; they both endeavoured to arrive at the highest Honours, by embroiling the Common - Wealth ; but as they were not equally successful, *Catiline* stands described as a Monster, and *Cæsar* as an Ornament of Mankind ; insomuch, that the greatest Princes have been ambitious to bear his Name. But, if *Catiline*, instead of *Cæsar*, had been

Virtues
and Vices
judged of
by Suc-
cess.

been the fortunate Man, and by a lucky Execution of his wicked Scheme, obtained the Sovereignty; Princes might possibly have held it an Honour to carry his Name, and *Catalinarian* Majesty have become the highest *European* Title. If *Junius Brutus* had been unsuccessful in putting an End to the Regal Government of *Rome*, his Name would have appeared black in the *Roman* History. A Man may become rich or fortunate, but not able or skilful, by Accident. Events and Casualties may produce Emolument; but Works and Designs must produce Honour. A lucky Hero is no Hero at all. Men seldom reflect in this Manner; but praise Persons for Actions they had no Share in, and erect Statues to Chance.

Things are usually looked upon, in the World, according to Events; but a true Judgment sets foreign Circumstances aside. A Virtue always remains a Virtue in philosophical Eyes, and a Vice a Vice; let the Times wherein they are practised be past, present, or future. A Philosopher judges by intrinsic Value; and can distinguish vicious Actions under Disguises. He estimates nothing by the Character it bears; but by its Reality and Use. He judges not from external Appearance, but Justness of Design; and calls that alone good, which tends to promote Happiness.

Virtues
classified.

Indeed, the Exertion of Virtue may arise from different Motives. Those who practise it for the Sake of Reward may be called prudent, rather than good. I cannot persuade myself, that all the Virtues in the World arise merely from Self-Interest. Many Actions may perhaps be performed

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ed with this View ; but the Good Works proceeding from Self-Interest, produce good Effects. It is virtuous to lend Money *Gratis* to the industrious Poor : if we take Interest for it, we become Merchants ; and if the Interest be exorbitant, Usurers. The letting out of Money for Hire, is not giving but receiving ; not Liberality but Frugality. To serve our Neighbour, or labour for the common Good, is Virtue ; provided it proceed from Love to our Neighbour, or our Country ; but if done to procure Reputation, it is Ambition ; if to procure Power, Place, or Title, it is crafty sinful Pride.

Men therefore may practise Virtues out of different Motives : but whether their Motives be just or unjust, is not easy to determine ; because all Men pretend to exercise Virtue for Virtue's Sake ; not excepting those who have the greatest Regard to Self-Interest, or worldly Glory. Most Men go masked, or act their Parts in borrowed Characters, till the Play is ended ; when the Mask being laid aside, it appears whether they acted themselves or not. So long as any Man supports a good Character, we should reserve our Judgment ; and not rashly attribute all Devotion to Hypocrisy, all Friendship to Interest, all Honesty to Ambition, &c. For, tho' we daily see People seek their own Advantage, or worldly Honour, under the Mask of Devotion, Friendship, Honesty, Patriotism, &c. yet we must not hence conclude, that all Good Works are hypocritical. We must allow that *Socrates* was virtuous, *Cato* honest, and *Lælius* a true Friend ;

because

Good
Works.

The Mo-
tives to
Virtue.

because they sustained their respective good Characters to their Deaths. But, for living Characters, since Men are frequently imposed upon by Pretences to Virtue, we should not rely too much upon Appearance; nor by judging of all Men alike, make the whole World Comedians; or think Sin the Origin of Virtue. This would be horrid Misanthropy.

True and
spurious
Virtues.

Such Opinions have brought but little Honour to certain Authors, and particularly a late one, who pretends that all the Virtues are self-interested, and derive from sinful Origins; so as to make Humility arise from Pride, Friendship from Interest, &c. We may say of such Assertions, that, allowing they could be proved, they would serve to no other Purpose than the raising of Mistrust, Jealousy, and Suspicion among Mankind. But, what is worse for the Writer, these Assertions happen to be groundless; as evidently appears upon examining each Section of his Book apart.

Prudence.

To bring one Instance only, he seems to dissuade Mankind from the Use of Prudence, “because,” says he, Fortune and Accident commonly confound the best concerted Schemes:” which is a Mistake. For, if we compare the Issue of prudent and imprudent Actions, we shall find, that the imprudent produce ten times more Mischief than the prudent; and that, for one Example of a bad Event from good Counsel, ten bad ones may be shewn from Want of Consideration.

It is not wise to despise Good Works; and tho’ we may have Reason to suspect the Motives to
some

some Virtues, yet the Performance of them is Praise-worthy. When any one bequeathes a Part of his Fortune to promote the Public Good, he thereby obliges every Individual of the Community; who should look upon such an Action as virtuous, without nicely examining into its Motive.

I am firmly persuaded there are Men who practise Virtues without any Expectation of Reward, or Advantage. Those who perform Good Works purely out of Duty, or practise Virtue for the Love they bear it, may properly be called good Men; and of such we have some Examples in History. Under this Class may likewise be reckoned such as distinguish themselves by virtuous Actions for the Sake of Reputation. For tho' these Actions are not entirely disinterested; yet we are not here to refine too much. In the same Rank we may place those who practise Virtue from a Hope of Reward in the next Life; unless, with some self-prudent People, we take all the *Christian* Virtues to be self-interested; as being founded upon a promised Reward. I judge we should esteem all Virtues real, which do not proceed from worldly Advantage, or vain Ostentation.

But they are Heroes, who struggle in Virtue to their own Detriment. If there are but few of the former Class, there are certainly fewer of the latter: and yet we find some Examples in History of Men, who, for the Sake of Truth, have given up their Liberty, and their Lives. The Martyrs of the Primitive Church are illustrious Instances of this Heroism. Some imagine this kind of Vir-

tue

Good
Men
classified.

tue is only to be found among *Christians*; but *Socrates*, *Cato*, *Phocion*, &c. may be brought as Examples of it. Others pretend that all the Virtues practised by the ancient Philosophers, were owing to Ostentation and Pride: but this Assertion exposes Christians to severe Reprisals. If any one shall, upon bare Suspicion, pretend that the Virtue of *Socrates*, his Patience and Sufferings, proceeded from Ostentation and Pride; another may pass the like Censure upon a *Christian* Martyr. Man neither can, nor should judge otherwise than from Evidence. No Judge in Court pronounces Sentence without express Witnesses, and clear Proof. Let the accused Person be ever so much suspected, the Judge is obliged to acquit him, if the Accusation is not made good. We doubtless ought to look upon him as a Hero, who exercises Virtue and Good Works to his own Disadvantage. This at least is more just, than to make *Alexander* and *Cæsar* Heroes; who sacrificed Mankind to their own Ambition: whereas our true Heroes sacrifice themselves for the Service of Mankind.

Great Vir- But these heroical Virtues are to be exercised
tues to be with Prudence; otherwise they may lose their
shewn Merit, or turn to Vices. If a good and useful
with Pru- Member of Society should offer his Life to pre-
dence. serve a bad Man, who is a Burthen to the Com-
munity; this would be so far from Virtue, that
it is downright Folly. The greatest Generosity,
which might otherwise pass for Heroism, may
sometimes prove a Sin. If a Man, out of Love
to his Friend, should fight a Duel for him; that
is,

is, should risk the losing of his Body and Soul for his Friend; this is certainly sinful: unless we presume it an heroical Virtue to be damned for a Friend. It is human Virtue, in the highest Degree, to perform Good Works to one's own temporal Detriment. They who practise it, without Expectation of Reward, may justly be called good; but those who do it to their Detriment, are good Men of a sublimer Order.

II.

Of Frailty, Sin, and Repentance.

CICERO's wife Man is one whom neither Frailty; Crosses nor Misfortunes torment, but remains the same in Prosperity and Adversity; and looks upon external Things so calmly, as to feel no Care or Concern, no Fear or Anxiety, no great Displeasure or Joy. This high Strain only shews what a Man should be, to deserve *Cicero's* Epithet of Wise. But Man is not a Statue, and cannot be divested of his Passions, without being unmanned. The real Difference betwixt a wise Man and a Fool consists in this, that the wise Man strives against his Weaknesses, Appetites, and Passions, to prevent being conquered by them; whilst the Fool is always their Captive.

Even the wisest Man is frail, and the greatest Philosopher cannot prevent the first Sallies and Emotions of his Mind, or hinder the rustling and fermenting of his Thoughts, upon being suddenly

ly struck with unexpected Accidents. To do this is as impossible, as not to see when our Eyes are open. Such a Power manifestly belongs not to Man; nor can all the Philosophy in the World procure it. It is therefore wrong to ascribe all Commotions of Mind, either to Weakness, Fear, or Want of Understanding. A sensible Man may suddenly die by Surprise, or sicken with Grief, before the Fit, or first Transport, has time to subside, so as to give an Opportunity for Reason to exert itself, and the scattered Powers of the Mind to rally. *Socrates* had violent Passions; yet was the greatest Philosopher we know of. His Philosophy did not consist in Insensibility; but in the Struggle he had with his Passions, to prevent their getting the Ascendant over him. In this consists the Merit of a Philosopher. It is no Character at all to be insensible. An Eunuch cannot be commended for his Chastity; nor a dispassionate Man for his Calmness. To ride a quiet Horse is no Merit in Horsemanship; but to manage, and break a wild one, shews Skill.

These Distinctions usually pass unnoticed by the Vulgar, who judge of Virtues and Vices more from Men's Constitutions, than from the Qualities of their Minds. And hence, in common Estimation, he is no steady Man who changes Countenance, or appears moved at an unexpected Question, or Event; but the Appellations of courageous, resolute, and brave, are bestowed upon him who stands, unmoved, the Shocks and Accidents of Life: which is as wise
a Judg-

a Judgment, as attributing greater Perfection to a Statue than to a Man.

No Person should be esteemed weak for being moved at a sudden Accident, or for feeling Pain and Uneasiness while his Wound is recent. Impossibilities are not to be required of Philosophers, especially those of delicate, tender, and feeling Constitutions; where the Blood may be hot, the Humours sharp, and the Mind extremely susceptible. Gunpowder will fire with a Spark. The great *Grecian* General *Aratus* felt such Commotion at the Beginning of a Battle, that it usually threw him into a Purging; but as soon as the first Shock was over, no General behaved with greater Bravery.

All that can be expected of a Philosopher, upon these Occasions, is to make a quick Stand, as soon as he finds himself in a Condition. These Attacks are like Fever-Fits, which must have Time to spend themselves, before proper Remedies can be applied. During the Commotion, all the Prescriptions of *Socrates*, *Cicero*, and *Seneca* are useless; but of great Efficacy when the Storm is abated. If Insensibility must be made a Characteristic of Philosophers, other Creatures, besides Men, might justly put in their Claim. When *Julia*, Daughter of *Augustus*, was reprov'd for certain Appetites which the Brutes had not; she answered properly, "they want those Appetites because they are Brutes."

All that Man can do, is to prepare and arm against Accidents, by representing them to himself before-hand; that he may not meet them en-

tirely unexpected: and when the Mind happens to be confused, or disconcerted, by a sudden Shock, we should endeavour to recollect our scattered Forces, and bring our Faculties to Order. Man cannot be reproached for his Make, his natural Frailties or Infirmities; but only for such as he may prevent. And even here we are strange unaccountable Creatures, and cannot always reconcile our Opinions and Actions to [our own Judgment.

The Stoical Doctrine of Sin.

The *Stoics*, particularly *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, held all Sins to be equal; or that there is no Difference betwixt one Sin and another. They even endeavoured to support this Doctrine, by pretending that “As all Sins flow from the same
“Fountain of Vice; and as nothing can be truer than Truth; nothing falser than Falshood;
“so one Sin cannot be more sinful than another.
“Tho’ one Place,” say they, “lye twenty Miles
“from a City, and another but one Mile; yet
“both lye equally out of the City; so, let the
“Size of Sins be what it will, they are equally
“sinful: as all Lies are equally Lies, tho’ they
“differ in kind.” Thus reason the *Stoics*.

Some early Lawgivers founded their Laws upon such false Doctrine; which the *Stoics* afterwards publicly defended. *Draco* adjudged the same Punishment to a Man who stole an Apple, as to the greatest Malefactor. But tho’ different Crimes may have been punished with equal Severity, Equality of Punishment does not infer Equality of Crimes: for Punishment cannot so well determine the Magnitude of Offences, as
their

their Nature and Kind does, with regard to the Happiness or Good of Society. Thievery was a capital Crime among the ancient *Scythians*, who lived tented in the open Fields; where no Man could secure his Property, unless Stealing were punished as severely as Murther. Offences which, among Christians, are only punishable by Deprivation from Office, are punished, in *Turky* and *Persia*, by Strangulation; on account of the Effect and Consequences of the Offences. Gentle Correction will, in some Places, have as great an Effect as severe Punishment in others; so that the Opinion of the *Stoics* can receive no Confirmation from this Argument.

It is easy to overthrow their other Arguments. The Stoical Sophisms answered. They say "all Sins arise from the same Fountain of Vice:" but, we may reply, that all Fountains are not poisonous; nor the Rivulets which run from them equally noxious. It is true, what lies one Mile from a Place, is distant from that Place, as well as what lies a hundred Miles from it; but no Man will hence infer they are both equally distant from that Place. All Contradictions to Truth are Lyes; but all Lyes are not of the same Magnitude: for some Lyes approach nearer to Truth than others. One wrong Path may lead a Traveller farther out of his Way than another; tho' they are neither of them right. He errs the most, who takes the Path that carries him farthest from the End of his Journey. North, and North-West are different Winds; yet the Difference is not so great as betwixt North and South. If this, therefore, be considered, we

shall see the *Stoical* Doctrine is not only false, and ill-grounded, but even childish; so that one may justly wonder, how so many eminent Men should have zealously contended for it.

Plausible
Argu-
ments for
the Equi-
lity of
Sins.

What appears more plausible than this silly Sophistry, is, that by every single Sin the Law is infringed: for if any Man wilfully break a single Law, he offends against the legal Authority, which may hold all Infringements equal. And upon this Foundation, some Divines erect the Doctrine of eternal Punishment in the next World; because our Sins are committed against an eternal God. But this Argument is no better grounded than the former. Lawgivers in general, establish Degrees of Punishment; and thereby expressly shew, that they take one Offence to be less than another; even tho' the same Authority is violated, and the Laws of the same Power infringed, in all Cases. Revelation assures us there are different Degrees of Rewards and Punishments in the next Life: whence, if all Punishment hereafter is to be eternal, all Men's Sins might seem to be equally great. But, allowing Punishments, in the next World, to be eternal; it does not even then follow that they will be equally great: for tho' the Punishments were to be equal as to eternal Duration, they need not be equally severe; and hence we may justly believe their Severity will be proportioned to the Nature and Degree of the Crimes committed. All Imprisonments for Life, are not Punishments equally great; because, one kind may be more tolerable than another. It is a severer Punishment to lye

fettered

fettered in a Dungeon all one's Life, than in a Chamber. It seems, therefore, unnecessary to confute this Doctrine farther ; and the saying thus much upon it might be judged Loss of Time, if so many great and learned Men had not defended it, and preached up the rash Doctrine of the Equality of Sins and Punishments : for we are frequently told, “ whoever sins against one “ Commandment, sins against all.”

We may, indeed, grant, that he who sins against one Law, sins against the whole Law, provided we here understand no more than sinning against the whole Law in general, as one Thing ; and not the breaking of every separate Commandment thereof in particular : otherwise it would follow, that he who commits Adultery, sins against the sixth Commandment, as well as the seventh ; which is an Absurdity, that would introduce strange Confusion : for an Adulterer might then be accused both of Murder and Adultery ; whilst the Sin of which he is guilty may produce a Subject, tho' in an unlawful Manner ; whereas Murder is robbing Society of a Subject.

But he who breaks the Law in several Articles, is frequently guilty of less Injustice, than he who breaks it only in a single Point of greater Moment : for, in criminal Cases, there is a wide Difference betwixt Number and Weight, Quantity and Quality. If a Man steal an Apple, the Bough of a Tree, or commit many Thieveries of this slender Nature, he is less a Sinner than if he should murder a single innocent Man ; except any body will say, that a Man's Life is of no

greater Value than an Apple, or the Bough of a Tree. The *Stoical* Doctrine of the Equality of Sins, is therefore ill-grounded ; and can never be supported by Argument.

Sinning
and Re-
penting.

But among our numerous contradictory Properties, which occasion so much Difficulty in writing the History of Man, we find a strange Succession of Sinning and Repenting alternately : so that our Lives resemble an intermitting Fever, wherein the hot and cold Fits mutually succeed each other. The same Men will appear almost equally sanguine in Sinning and Repenting. Their Piety seems to multiply their Crimes ; and their Crimes to multiply their Piety ; as if they sinned to heighten their Devotion ; and prayed, to sin with the greater Gust. If their Godliness were feigned, we might draw the Consequence readily ; for the devout Hypocrite is a common Character, and easy to understand. The Hypocrite has an End in View, which he hopes to arrive at under the Mask of Piety and Honour : but the sinning Devotee is less blameable, and more absurd than the Hypocrite. The sinning Devotee prays in Earnest, and sins in Earnest ; as both the cold and hot Fits of an Ague are real. Hence some might expect, that, as this Character is strange, it must needs be rare ; and that those should be looked upon as Monsters, in whom this strange Alternative is found. But Experience shews it to be a common Character ; and that it generally appears in those who are least capable of dissembling. We should not therefore suffer ourselves to be imposed upon by religious Fame ;
but

but carefully enquire what a Man's Conduct is betwixt the Morning and Evening Service ; whether his Piety be as great on the Monday, as on the Sunday ; or whether he does not intermix Prayer and Sin : for, if that should prove the Case, he will be so far from deserving the Name of religious, that his daily Devotion becomes rather a Vice than a Virtue. To be frequently praying for the Remission of those Sins, which we as frequently design to commit, is only sporting with Religion ; notwithstanding our Prayers may be made in Earnest. *Bias*, one of the seven wise Men, being once on board a Ship with certain irreligious People, and hearing them pray, as a Storm was rising ; whispered them, “ Friends, “ do not pray so loud ; for fear the Gods should “ know you are here.”

This foolish Devotion has been so common, that we find many Instances in Church History, of Persons who, designing to commit bad Actions, made their propitiary Offerings beforehand. *Louis* the Eleventh prayed to God to assist him in executing a wicked Purpose ; and promised to make large Donations to Churches and Monasteries, if he succeeded.

*C'est un Homme d'Honneur, d'une Pieté profonde,
Qui veut rendre à Dieu ce qu'il a pris au Monde.*

Sailors inform us, that Pyrates have Prayers, Morning and Evening, regularly, on board their Ships : and we find many Examples of Men, who, with great Devotion, have prepared for a Duel. What is more common, than to see profligate People, among the *Roman* Catholics, wear-

ing Crucifixes, Images of Saints, and frequenting the Mass?

The Sacrament is a most holy Covenant, which Numbers make with God, three or four times a Year; and yet this Covenant is often broken. Would it not be better for Men to perform more, and promise less? For, now it appears as if some Men renewed their Covenant with God, three or four times a Year, on purpose to break it as often. What can be more astonishing?

I have often considered what should be the Motive to such kind of Devotion; and can only say it appears to me as if most People imagined that when they pray, God is somewhat indebted to them; and that when they sin, they are somewhat indebted to God; whence they keep, as it were, a kind of Reckoning, in the Way of Debtor and Creditor; and book their Prayers on the Debit Side, and their Sins *per Contra*. But it is greatly to be feared, that such Book-keeping will not be approved on the Day of Audit; when the whole Credit Side may be dashed out at a Stroke. It should seem by some particular private Diaries, which certain Persons have left behind them, that they really had some Notions of this kind; because, in these Diaries there are good and bad Actions recorded, with their respective Days and Dates. Few indeed commit their Actions to Paper; and those who do it are the weaker Sort: yet these sorry Registers afford a Hint of Men's Management in this secret Affair. The Folly, in itself, is equally great, whether the Account be kept in Writing, or barely in the Mind. Such
false

false Notions arise from Want of Judgment, which leaves Men to imagine that by the keeping of one Commandment, they may purchase a Liberty of breaking the rest. This Error cannot otherwise be corrected; than by shewing Mankind that they would do much better not to pray at all, than to pray and sin alternately; better to make no Covenant with God, than immediately to break it after it is made; and that the doing of both is no particular Obligation upon them, but contrary to all Sense, Justice, and common Honesty.

III.

Of Evil in the World.

IT is shocking to find erroneous Consequences drawn from the Divine Attributes; and God represented as an Enemy to Mankind. From the supposed Evil in the World, his very Being has been denied, and the pretended Existence of a bad God audaciously introduced. This proceeds from Folly, or the Want of careful Enquiry, and sedate Reflection. Indeed Mankind stand greatly in Need of Instruction, to shew them their real Station, and Duty, in the Creation; or on what Foundation their present and future Happiness depends.

Bad Con-
sequences
ignorantly
drawn
from
God's
Attributes.

A subtle Philosopher of our Times has endeavoured to defend these horrid Principles, and employed the Weapons, used by Christians against one another, to overthrow Christianity itself. His Writings could not have caused so much Disturbance,

sturbance, if some Christians had not argued upon false Principles, which furnished him with Arms for the Purpose. Much Evil being supposed in the World, and Mankind being subject to numerous Miseries, certain Persons hence take Occasion to attack the Foundations of Religion; and either deny the Existence of God, or, at least, his Providence. Others pretend there are two equally powerful Beings, or first Causes, a good and a bad one; and that all Miseries come from the latter, and cannot be prevented by the former. This Notion, espoused by the ancient *Persian* Philosophers, was afterwards propagated by the *Manicheans*, and revived in our Times, particularly by Mr. *Bayle*, who presumes it difficult to answer the Arguments of the *Manicheans*; which he deduces with so much Subtilty, as to have alarmed many well-intentioned People.

The Evil which we see in the World may be reduced to three Kinds; viz. (1.) Imperfection in the Creatures, (2.) Natural Evil; as Pain, Sickness, and Death; and (3.) Moral Evil; or Sin, Vice, and Disorder, among Mankind.

Argu-
ments of
Evil from
Notions of
Imperfection.

(1.) Many Things appear comparatively imperfect; as Angels in regard to God, who is all Perfection. Men are imperfect in Comparison of Angels; Brutes in Comparison with Men; and Plants in Comparison to Brutes: yet all may be respectively perfect in their own kind; an Angel as a Spirit; a Man as a Man, a Brute as a Brute, &c. Nothing could be more childish than the Saying of King *Alphonso*, that “if he had
“ been of God’s Council in the Creation, the
World.

“ World should have been better made. ” The Disorder, which this King complained of, consisted merely in his own false Imagination. It is ridiculous in Man to ask why there are but seven Planets ; why they have dissimilar Revolutions ; why all Lines are not strait ; or why there is so little Uniformity among the Creatures ; when he may see, that by this Dissimilarity and Variety in the Creatures, the Creation is rendered glorious, and immensity of Skill displayed. God has made the World according to his own good Pleasure ; and if the Creation be according to his Will, shall Man presume to say any Part of it is imperfect ? If we find one Creature more excellent than another, this only shews that God was pleased to make a Difference in his Creatures ; but so as to leave each perfect in its Kind. We cannot say that Trees are imperfect, because they do not walk ; nor that Brutes are imperfect, because they have no Discursive Faculty ; nor that Men are imperfect, because they have not the Perfection of Angels. Lead is not so valuable with us, as Gold ; but each of them is good in its Kind. In the most exquisite Buildings we may find one Part more excellent than another ; one Room more beautiful than the rest ; but all the Parts perfect, with regard to their respective Ornaments and Uses. If a Man should ask why the Kitchen, or Parlour, is not so highly finished as the State-Room ; the Reason is, that the one was designed for a Kitchen, or a Parlour, and not for a Room of State. If a Fish could ask why he had not Wings ; he should be answered, because
he

he was not made to fly. And if a Bird complain-
ed he could not live under Water, we should
tell him he was made to live in Air. Nothing
can be more foolish than to censure the Creation on
account of the Advantage that one Kind of Crea-
tures has over another ; or to pretend that any Kind
is imperfect. And hence the Arguments for Evil
arising from Imperfection, are easily answered.

Natural
Evil.

(2.) But those for Natural Evil are more stub-
born. To consider the manifold Miseries and
Misfortunes, the numerous shocking Accidents
to which Mankind, and the Earth itself, are sub-
ject ; the Calamities, Sufferings, Diseases and
Death, which hang over our Heads ; it might
appear as if the Creatures had real Cause of Com-
plaint. All the Elements may seem at War with
us : Water drowns, and Fire consumes our
Dwellings ; the Earth produces Poisons ; the Air
spreads Pestilence, and swarms with noxious In-
sects. But tho' Cause of Complaint may arise
from hence, in respect of the Creation, there
arises none with respect to the Creatures ; certain
necessary Laws having rendered these Inconveni-
ences unavoidable, for the general Support of
the World as a Whole, by Means of Variati-
ons and Successions in the Parts. Many Things
incommode us that prove of great Advantage ;
as evidently appears by considering Particulars.
Long Nights are unpleasant near the Poles ; but
the Sun's Course in the Zodiac, renders all Parts
of the Earth's Surface inhabitable ; and makes a
Summer in every Country. High Winds destroy
our Buildings, cause Distresses and Losses at Sea,
and

and other Misfortunes ; but they prevent Fogs, cleanse and purify the Air and Water, or render them more wholesome. Earthquakes may arise from Sulphur, Iron-Ore, or other Mineral Matters in the Bowels of the Earth ; from which Mankind, in other Respects, receive Advantages. We labour under Diseases ; but great Inconveniencies would arise from constant Health. Our Bodies are weak and frail, so that small Accidents hurt or destroy them ; but in this Delicacy consists our greatest Perfection. If we examine the Texture of the Brain, the Structure of the Eye, &c ; we find our Faculties of Understanding, Seeing, &c. are in Proportion to the delicate Conformation of those Organs. Men are obliged to labour the Ground, in order to render it fruitful ; but if we could procure the same Advantages without Labour, we should be less happy, or more remiss and unhealthy. And the same holds true of other Inconveniencies to which Mankind are naturally subject: for it seems to be a Rule, that Men's particular Disadvantages produce general Advantages.

(3.) The Objections drawn from Sin and Wickedness in the World, are of greater Moment, and harder to answer ; because it appears difficult to reconcile the Wisdom and Goodness of God with the great Depravity and numerous Vices prevailing in Men. The Enemies of Religion hence take Occasion to deny a Providence, and ascribe all Things to Fate. We cannot say here, as we do of natural Evil, that Vices are necessary to support the Whole, or that they prove serviceable

to

Moral
Evil.

to Mankind in general. The ancient *Stoics* endeavoured to solve the Difficulty, as appears by the Prayer of *Cleanthes*. “ O *Jupiter* ! thou
 “ who art all in all, allot my Fate ; I fol-
 “ low thee blind-fold. Let me plunge into
 “ Vice, or shine in Virtue, I am equally necessa-
 “ ry to the Perfection of thy Creation, &c.” But this is raising two Difficulties instead of solving one ; and either denying God’s Providence, or making him the Cause of Evil. *Epicurus* uses the like Argument, in denying God’s Government of the World. “ God,” says
 “ he, would either avert Wickedness, but cannot ;
 “ or he can, and will not ; or else he neither can,
 “ nor will. If he would, and cannot, he is a
 “ weak Being ; if he can, and will not, he is a
 “ wicked Being ; but if he neither will, nor can,
 “ he is both wicked and weak : consequently
 “ there is no God : for if he both will and
 “ can, whence arises that Deluge of Wicked-
 “ ness which overspreads the World ?”

This Argument is made use of by Mr. *Bayle*, who knew how to employ it various Ways. In particular, he has endeavoured to shew, from the Vices to which Mankind are subject, that it was contrary to God’s Goodness, to make Men, whose Depravity he knew before-hand. Mr. *Bayle’s* Opponents have shewn, that it no way contradicts God’s Goodness to make Man a free Creature, lying under no Necessity of Sinning ; tho’ God, by his Prescience, foresaw Man would sin. But as this Subject has been fully discussed of late, I will only add, that it must be

be acknowledged God could have made Man more perfect, or even impeccable; and by his Almighty Power, or efficacious Grace, have hindered him from transgressing the Law: but in that Case Man would not have been Man, but a Machine, no more to be commended, or rewarded, for his Virtue, than Water for its Fluidity, or Fire for its Heat. And if the Almighty, by the constant Operation of his Grace, hindered the Exercise of our Will, and influenced our Actions, he could not be our Lawgiver, much less our Judge: for to give Laws, and at the same Time, by irresistible Power, to prevent their being broke, is a Contradiction. Mr. *Woolaston's* following Thoughts are extreamly just upon this Head.

“ This methinks is sufficient to ruin the *Ma-*
 “ *nichean* Cause, and exclude the independent
 “ Principle of Evil. For if we cannot account
 “ for the Existence of that Evil, which we find
 “ by Experience to be in the World, it is but
 “ one Instance out of many of our Ignorance.
 “ There may be Reasons for it, tho’ we do not
 “ know them. And certainly no such Experi-
 “ ence must make us deny Axioms or Truths
 “ equally certain. There are, beside, some Things
 “ relating to this Subject, which deserve our At-
 “ tention. For as to moral Good and Evil, they
 “ seem to depend upon ourselves. If we do but
 “ endeavour, the most we can, to do what we
 “ ought, we shall not be guilty of not doing it:
 “ and therefore it is our Fault, and not to be
 “ charged upon any other Being, if Guilt and
 “ Evil

“ Evil be introduced by our Neglect, or Abuse
 “ of our own Liberty and Powers. Then as to
 “ physical Evil ; without it much physical Good
 “ would be lost, the one necessarily inferring the
 “ other. Some Things seem to be evil, which
 “ would not appear to be such, if we could see
 “ through the whole Contexture of Things.
 “ There are not more evil than good Things in
 “ World, but surely more of the latter. Many
 “ Evils of this kind, as well as of the former,
 “ come by our own Fault ; some perhaps by way
 “ of Punishment ; some of Physic ; and some
 “ as the Means to Happiness, not otherwise to be
 “ obtained. And if there is a future State, that
 “ which seems to be wrong now, may be rectifi-
 “ ed hereafter. To all which, more may yet be
 “ added. As, that Matter is not capable of Per-
 “ fection ; and therefore where that is concerned,
 “ there must be Imperfections, and consequently
 “ Evils. So to ask, why God permits Evil, is
 “ to ask, why he permits a material World, or
 “ such a Being as Man is ; indowed indeed with
 “ some noble Faculties, but incumbered at the
 “ same Time with bodily Passions and Propensi-
 “ ons. Nay, I know not whether it be not to
 “ ask, why he permits any imperfect Being ; and
 “ and that is, any Being at all : which is a bold
 “ Demand ; and the Answer to it lies perhaps too
 “ deep for us. If this World be designed for a
 “ a *Palæstra*, where Men are to exercise their Fa-
 “ culties and their Virtues, and by that prepare
 “ themselves for a superior State (and who can
 “ say it is not ?) there must be Difficulties and
 “ Temp-

“ Temptations, Occasions and Opportunities for
 “ this Exercise. Lastly, if there are Evils, of
 “ which Men know not the true Origin; yet
 “ would they but seriously reflect upon the many
 “ Marks of Reason, Wisdom, and Goodness
 “ every where to be observed in Instances which
 “ they do or may understand, they could scarce
 “ doubt but the same Things prevail’d in those
 “ which they do not understand. If I should
 “ meet with a Book, the Author of which I
 “ found had disposed his Matter in beautiful
 “ Order, and treated his Subject with Reason
 “ and Exactness; but at last as I read on, came
 “ to a few Leaves written in a Language which
 “ I did not know: in this Case I should close
 “ the Book with a full Persuasion, that the same
 “ Vein of good Sense, which shewed itself in
 “ the former and much greater Part of it, ran
 “ thro’ the other also: especially having Argu-
 “ ments *à priori*, which obliged me to believe,
 “ that the Author of it all was the same Person.
 “ This I should certainly do, rather than deny
 “ the Force of those Arguments, in order to
 “ assert two Authors of the same Book.

Mr. *Bayle* was aware of the Strength of this
 kind of Reasoning; and to evade it, like a skilful
 Disputant, endeavour’d to set his Adversaries at
 Variance, and battle one Divine with the Argu-
 ments of another. But however unjust his Doc-
 trine, in this Point, may be, he plainly over-
 throws the Arguments of those who pretend
 God may punish for Ignorance, and damn or save
 eternally, according to his own mere good Plea-
 Y sure.

sure. To punish for Ignorance, is increasing the Number of the Damned to such a Degree, as to suppose Mankind, in general, born to that End. The best Armour against the Enemies of Revelation consists in clear and sound Explanations of certain Passages of Scripture. As to the Eternity of Hell-Torments, I do not shelter myself under *Origen*; but rest well satisfied with knowing, that God will not act contrary to his own Justice and Goodness. A Judge may moderate his Punishments, without contradicting his Truth. It is not with Threats as with Promises: The Execution of Threats may be remitted; but Promises are Pledges for full Performance.

IV.

Of Metaphysical Theology.

The Folly of false Metaphysics. SOME Men amuse themselves with abstract Speculations above the Reach of human Understanding. Such Attempts should stand in the Catalogue of human Follies; as making us neglect the Discovery of useful and necessary Things. Mankind employed their Time in this transcendental Manner for a thousand Years, without any Advantage to themselves or others. But I here confine myself to the Subject of Spirit; upon which we have many Thousands of Volumes, ancient and modern; and could a Man peruse them,

them, he would certainly find himself no wiser for the laborious Undertaking.

We know, by Revelation, that the Soul is im-^{Nothing}mortal, and differs from the Body: this should^{determin-} content us. If it does not, and we begin to per-^{ed about}plex ourselves with the Works of wild Meta-^{the Soul,}physicians, we immediately enter an Ocean full^{by Philo-} of dangerous Rocks and Difficulties. I know, sopher^{s.} many think it a Part of Philosophy to demonstrate the Nature and Properties of the Soul; but this is the Opinion of such as have read little, reflected less, and never look'd much about them. For, whoever examines the Notions and Conjectures of metaphysical Philosophers, will find how strangely the most ingenious of them vary; so that, there are here almost as many different Systems as different Philosophers. Even Christians hold contradictory Opinions upon the Subject. That the Fathers of the Church had gross Notions of Angels, and the Souls of Men, appears from the History of the Church down to the second Council of *Nice*. *Johannes* of *Thessalonica* expressly declares that, "Angels may be painted, because they are corporeal:" *Pingendi sunt Angeli, quia corporei*.

It has been lamented, as a great Misfortune, that *St. Anselm* died before he deliver'd his Doctrine of the Soul; because he earnestly desired to leave a Treatise upon the Subject, as fearing no Body else wou'd undertake it after his Decease. But, probably, he cou'd have given no better an Account of it, than his Predecessors and Successors have

done. Some wonder how the ancient Philosophers cou'd deliver so many strange Conjectures about the Nature of the Soul ; but the Wonder ceases when we reflect, that the greater Capacities they had, the more Difficulties they found. What immense Pains have Men taken to discover the Soul's Origin ! This has been a Torture to Philosophers. Yet they met with greater Difficulties in their Enquiries after the Cause, the Manner, and Form of Thought ; and particularly in determining how it is brought into Action. And hence the learned *Thomas Bartholine* said of the abovemention'd St. *Anselm*, “ If God had
 “ been pleas'd to have granted him a double Life,
 “ he could scarce have solved this Difficulty.”

Body and
 Spirit.

Many Philosophers make no other Difference betwixt Body and Soul, but that the Soul consists of a very subtile Matter, more or less intelligent, according as the Machines wherein it operates are disposed : and this they think is accounting for the Difference of Men's greater or less degree of Understanding.

Democri-
 tus.

Democritus, the supposed Founder of the Atomical Philosophy, presumes all Things consist of the same Kind of Matter. His Followers are call'd by the Name of *Materialists*, or *Corpuscular Philosophers* ; as maintaining, that the Particles of Matter, by means of Organization, subtilize, and render themselves perfect ; and thereby acquire the Faculty of Thinking ; which they therefore make a *Modus*, or kind of Understanding, to be found among Brutes as well

as Men : and according to this Doctrine, Spirit must be corporeal.

The Atomical Philosophers were afterwards Atomists. divided into two Classes ; some believing, with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, that all Matter was in itself dead ; but became alive by means of a particular Arrangement or Organization. But these were all of them gross, speculative Atheists, and cou'd never support their Doctrine ; because dead Particles can by no conceivable Disposition or Arrangement become alive, or mere Matter be made a living Soul. This Notion being deemed absurd, others held that a certain eternal Life was inherent in Matter. These went under the Name of *Hylozoites* ; a Sect supposed to be founded by *Strato Lampfacenus*, who held, with *Strato*.

Epicurus, that all Things came by Chance, or Attraction, upon the particular clinging of Particles together ; in which Operation he gives them a sort of Life ; and thereby attributes a kind of Divinity to Matter. Hence some have imagined that *Strato* believed a God ; tho' he has generally pass'd for an Atheist, on account of introducing Attraction, acknowledging no Fashioner or Creator of Matter, but supposing intelligent Creatures produced by Organization.

Anaxagoras first distinguish'd Body from Spirit, and maintained an intelligent Being very different from Matter, who originally produced, and afterwards supported and govern'd all Things. This was making a Wrent in the System of the old Materialists. The soundest Philosophers have

followed him; and shewn, that Life and Spirit cannot proceed from Matter. Some among these agree as to the Difference betwixt Soul and Body, but vary considerably as to the Nature and Properties of the Soul; insomuch, that by reading their Writings, a Man may rather be confounded than instructed.

Whether
Spirit be
extended.

Many have disputed whether Spirit can have Extension. The greater Part deny it; pretending that Extension belongs only to the Body, wherein three Dimensions are inseparable; and that, whatever has Extension may be divided, and consequently destroy'd. Others, unable to conceive how any Thing can exist without being extended, alledge, that supposing the Soul ever so minute, it still has Extension.

Immorta-
lity of the
Soul.

In like manner Men have disputed about the Soul's Immortality; some holding that Spirit being simple can never perish; and that Destruction solely belongs to Body, which consists of separable Parts. Others have thought, as the Soul is a Creature, it is capable of perishing; so that its Immortality must singly be ascribed to the Will of God. Some have endeavoured to strengthen this Opinion by Arguments drawn from the Souls of Brutes; which, say they, have the Properties belonging to Spirit. Yet all do not from hence infer the Souls of Brutes to be immortal; because, they fear, every Animal, Fish and Insect, wou'd then swarm with the Souls of departed Brutes. *Des Cartes* was so press'd with this strange Difficulty, that he labour'd to prove
Brutes

Brutes were Machines: and, as absurd as the Notion is, some have adopted it.

Men have also disputed whether the Soul can exert the Faculty of Reasoning, without the help of the Body. Most take the Affirmative; thinking the Body a kind of Prison, wherein the Soul is restrain'd from those Raptures and Transports, which belong to her Nature, but are suppress'd by the Care and Regard she has for the Body; from whose Incumbrance being once released, they fancy, she must reason with greater Strength, and perceive and understand many more Things than she does in the Body. But others object to this, from observing that when the Brain is disordered, Men cease to reason; and that as the Body is more or less perfect, the Soul is more or less rational; that a new born Child has no Reflection; and a superannuated Man but little Understanding.

Many suppose it wicked to attribute Thought and Perception to Matter; others hold it more wicked to deny that God can super-add the Faculty of thinking to Matter: and both Opinions are defended by great Men. *Des Cartes*, *Malebranche*, and others, maintained the first; some Fathers of the Church, particularly *Tertulian*, and many Philosophers of our Times, but principally Mr. *Locke*, have maintained the second, and express'd Surprize that those Persons who believe God sometimes controuls and suspends the Laws of Nature, and performs Wonders to please Monks and Abbots, are bold enough to deny

He can give Thought and Perception to Matter.

Propag-
ation of
Souls.

No less Disputes have arisen about the Propagation of the Soul. Some are of Opinion it is propagated along with the *Semen*; and suppose the Souls of all Men resided in *Adam*: but others hold, that the Soul of every Man is immediately created by God. Both these Opinions have their Difficulties. The first may seem to favour of Materialism; and the other to touch God's Justice. For, if a pure unspotted Soul be put into a defiled Body, God is hence suppos'd to favour Uncleaness and Adultery; and bestow purposely-created Souls upon promiscuous Concubinage.

Seat of the
Soul.

It is also controverted in what Part of the Body the Soul resides; some say in the Brain, others in the Heart, others in the Systole and Diastole of the Heart; and others again in no particular Part, but all over.

Our Igno-
rance.

It has hitherto been found impossible to discover, how the Soul is united with the Body; how it operates; and whether it be conscious to itself, or knows its own Wants and Desires. These Difficulties have produced many opposite Systems; and, probably, will continue to do so, till Man's Understanding acquires more Light in a future State.

Many indeed imagine these no great Difficulties; and we daily find young People boldly deciding upon such Metaphysical Questions; so that if you ask any Stripling Candidate of Philosophy what the Soul is, he immediately tells you; and, in his own Opinion, gives you an exact

exact Account of it. Great is the Knowledge of those who have read a little, but never reflected! The more a Man thinks of these Subjects, the less he understands of them; for it here happens as it did to *Turnus*, who the longer he followed the Phantom of *Æneas*, the farther he ran from what he was seeking. The Author of the *Art of Thinking* speaks to the Purpose: “ He who once, “ with Sincerity, acknowledges he knows no- “ thing of this Kind, advances, in an Instant, farther than a Philosopher who has been arguing, “ for twenty Years, upon Metaphysical Subjects. “ The Difference is, that he who labours to fathom “ these Secrets, is the most ignorant of the two; “ because he fancies he knows what he really “ has no Conception of.

I by no Means reject the Study of true Metaphysics; but wish it to be improv’d, so as to give a History of the Mind, or a faithful Register of what mentally passes within ourselves; describe our Thoughts, their Successions, Relations, Connexions, Combinations, Operations, and Effects upon the whole Man and his Parts; their Influence over others, when express’d in Words, Countenance, Gesture, &c. and exhibit, as it were, a Map of the Mind of Man, from diligent Attention and Observation. The Communication and Intercourse betwixt Mind and Mind is felt by us all, and has surprizing Effects; but we want a History of the Thing, that Philosophy may keep Pace with Experience; and a Science be formed out of what, at present, lies only in scatter’d Observations, not duly collected, and reflected upon by Philosophers;

The best
Metaphysics.

Philosophers; who here seem to be upon a false Scent, or to pursue their own Misery, and neglect the Essentials to their Happiness.

All Philosophers shou'd follow the Judgment and laudable Moderation of the Lord *Bacon* in Philosophy, and Sir *Isaac Newton* in Mathematics; and never presume to determine *à Priori*. Let us cease to enquire about the Nature of Spirit; the Oeconomy of Souls; how they support themselves; how they are propagated; whether they have Dimensions; whether they consist of Atoms; whether they can reason out of the Body, &c. for it is better to let these and the like Questions alone, than fruitlessly to torture ourselves about them. Indeed we shou'd conduct all our Metaphysical Enquiries in the Method *à Posteriori*, by stating the Facts, and Effects produced; for thus we may, at least, learn something certain. As to the abstract Properties of the Soul, we really know nothing; and if we endeavour to plunge after them, let *Terence* check us:

*Incerta hæc, si tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nihilò plus agas
Quàm si des operam ut cum Ratione insanias.*

V.

Of the Principles of Religion.

TWO hundred Years ago, it was Or-
thodoxy in Christendom to have no Re-
ligion, but a blind Obedience to the arbitrary
Constitutions and Injunctions of the Court of
Rome; all Enquiry being then look'd upon
as Heresy, or Infidelity. But certain intrepid
Heroes arose to demolish this usurp'd Autho-
rity, that oppressed and enslaved *Europe* by
Power and Craft. The Foundation upon which
they erected their Battery was the *Right of En-
quiry*; and the Duty of every Man to hear and
examine, before he believes and judges.

The *Romish* Clergy appeal'd to Antiquity for
the Truth of their Doctrine; but were shewn
that false Doctrines may be ancient. They pre-
tended, that religious Disputes had long since
been decided, after the exactest Scrutiny; but
were answer'd, that nobody has a Right of de-
termining, for another, what the Scripture de-
livers as Articles of Faith; and that whoever
pretends to do it, puts himself in the Place of
the Scripture. They alledged the Scriptures
were dark in many Places, so that every one
shou'd not discover the true Meaning; and that
the Generality shou'd be contented with the In-
terpretation of those who understood the Ori-
ginals. It was replied, that all who understood
the original Languages, did not agree in their In-
terpretations;

terpretations; and that what one learned Man call'd Right, another call'd Wrong. The Catholics pretended, if all were allowed the Liberty of Enquiring, numerous erroneous Sects must needs be the Consequence; but were told, it was better some Errors shou'd prevail, than Men have no Faith. For if the common People, before the Reformation, were ever questioned about their Religion, they could only answer, " they believ'd what their Priests believed; that " their Priests believed what the Church believed; " and that the Church had the same Belief as the " Pope." But what Faith the Pope held, they knew not. Few of them had ever seen the Bible, or heard it mention'd; insomuch, that many thought the New-Testament a dangerous Book compiled by *Luther*. The Arguments of the first Reformers being therefore found unanswerable, the Reformation had the good Success which all the World knows.

Procedure
of the
newly re-
formed.

During the Change, before Things were settled, the Reformers continued to use the same Arguments which had already procur'd them so much Advantage; but as soon as a few Churches were founded, so as to dread no disturbing Power, the Reformed began to waver in their Principles; and employed the same kind of Arguments against others, who separated from them, as the *Romish* Clergy had used against the original Reformers. This, however, was done with Circumspection in Language, tho' not in Fact; for, they retained the old Form of Speech, that " every Man shou'd search the Scriptures;"

but

but with this Reserve, that the Discoveries and Judgments made, must entirely agree with theirs; and that, after a free and exact Enquiry, all shou'd subscribe Articles settled by Assemblies of Divines. Which amounts to this: "You may believe what you find to be right; but nothing is right besides what we believe." Such Liberty of Enquiry is a treacherous Compliment, that chains down the Prisoner, and tells him he is free.

The Popish Clergy took the Advantage, re-^{Advantage}orted the Argument, and objected, that the Re-^{of the}formers set up Infallibility among themselves, tho' ^{Popish}Clergy. they condemn'd it in others; so that the principal Difference betwixt Catholics and Protestants was only nominal. It gravell'd the Protestants to be shewn, that they proceeded contrary to their own Principles; that the Permission they gave of examining the Scriptures was only verbal, and meant no more than "Search, but so as to let your Faith, in no respect, differ from ours." Upon this, the Reformers had recourse to Exhortation and Persuasion; but with little Effect, that Confessions of Faith were drawn up; and the People obliged, by Power, to subscribe them. Hence new Protestants arose out of the old, till different contending Sects spread all over Christendom; each Sect crying out against the other, "Examine, believe, and subscribe."

The Merit of the first Reformers ought grate-^{Merits of}fully to be acknowledged; for they dispelled the ^{the first}Mist that envelopp'd Christianity: they put the ^{Reformers.}Scriptures

Scriptures into our Hands, when the reading of them had been forbid ; they purged the Divine Doctrine from human Inventions ; and gave a new, and in all Respects, a better Form to the Church. Probably they might have made the Reformation general, if they had steadily adhered to their original Principles. The Reformation was founded in the Christian Liberty of Enquiry previous to Belief ; but when once this Foundation is weaken'd, the whole Fabric must fall. It might appear as if the Reformers set themselves up for Popes ; and, instead of one infallible Church, establish'd several, with the same arbitrary Powers as that of *Rome*. In Fact, the Reformation consisted in dividing the Empire of *Rome* with *Germany*, *England*, and *Holland*.

The Protestant
Sectaries.

The modelling of the reformed Churches, and the preaching up of Liberty, has indeed occasioned strange Sects, which render it expedient to subscribe Confessions of Faith. And these Subscriptions seem unexceptionable, provided they are barely proposed, and not imposed : but Compulsion spoils all ; saps the Foundation of the Reformation, and makes Religion contradict itself. It may be asked, “ Shall all sorts of Opinions “ be permitted, and every Man left free to “ chuse his Religion ? ” I answer, Information and Instruction are to be used ; but not Power, or Penalty. Faith cannot be compell'd. Pains and Penalties may oblige Men to act, but cannot oblige them to think. And, if Men cannot be compell'd to think, Punishment only forces them to speak contrary to their Thoughts ; and makes

makes them Hypocrites, instead of Heretics. Coercive Means of propagating Religion are unjust ; nothing being more unjustifiable than to force Men to say they understand what they do not, or cannot, understand. Shall Protestants give up their Understandings in Reality, as Papists are compell'd to do in Appearance? Some Men believe out of Courtesy; and think it civil to flatter their Teachers.

It has indeed been said that certain People will not ^{Errors.} believe: but I dare not judge so rashly; because I cannot think any Man willfully entertains damnable Opinions. Let us hear what a respectable Catholic Writer, *l' Abbé de St. Pierre*, has lately publish'd upon this Head. "The Errors of our Neighbours," says he, "are involuntary; for, no Man
"willingly errs: therefore such Errors are excusable, provided they do not contradict
"Justice, or other cardinal Virtues. But all Persecution is voluntary; since he who persecutes,
"wills to persecute; and therefore can, by no
"Means, be excused."

Some suppose it safer to believe the Doctrines ^{Establish'd} which learned Men have allow'd to be true, ^{Religion.} than to trust to their own Examination; and consequently, that it is wrong, in any private Person, to scruple the Subscribing of Articles of Faith establish'd by Law. But this Way of Reasoning leads to endless Error and Confusion. The Ground-Work of the Reformation is sapp'd by it; the original good Conduct of the first Reformers contradicted; and all their Arguments against the Church of *Rome* enervated. It makes
the

the Permission of examining the Scriptures, to consist in empty Sound; and all Religions established by Law, to be valid. It condemns the Labours of Christian Missionaries, in converting the *Heathens* and *Mahometans*; because their Conversion is attempted by exhorting them to examine whether the respective Religions wherein they were educated, and which are established by Law, stand upon a good or bad Foundation. Missionaries, sent into heathen Countries, admonish the People not to rely upon the Faith of their own Countries, but to examine our Doctrines; and shall we, at home, admonish all to abide by the Faith of their Fathers, to stop their Ears against Information, and make what we call a Duty in one Place, to be Sin in another?

Duty of
Enquiry.

All Men will not be pleas'd with this frank Declaration; and perhaps I may err: but I hold it not so dangerous to err, as to avow Principles which I do not believe. I know that I am to be saved by my own Faith, and not by my Teacher's. I know Faith does not descend from Father to Son, nor can be made over in Trust; but must be grounded upon Enquiry. And, as it is the Duty of every Christian to enquire before he believes, I rest assur'd, that when any Man diligently seeks the Truth, God accepts his Intention. Many are puff'd up with a Faith they never fought after; and can give no other Account of, than that they were educated in it. Nay, the more ignorant they are, the greater Infallibility they usually pretend to; and find neither Doubts nor Difficulties in Religion. Is it not
surprizing

surprizing to find these ignorant People forward in obtruding their own superficial Opinions upon others, who have carefully examin'd for themselves? When any such charitable Person takes Pains to instruct me, I make the same Answer I do to those good-natur'd Friends who prescribe me Physic, or Rules of Health; and tell them I have, for forty Years, carefully examin'd my own Constitution, and cannot readily submit it to the Management of those who never studied it at all.

Certain Persons talk zealously for Toleration, yet do not practise it. This Language is found among the Separatists; who, without the least Ceremony, contradict their own Principles. If their Doctrine be condemn'd, they rail against Persecution; and, at the same Time, severely censure the establish'd Church, from which they dissent: thereby sufficiently discovering *what Spirit they are of*. It is strange to inveigh against Persecution, and, in the same Breath, decry all Forms of Worship besides their own, even down to indifferent Things. What can we think of Heralds who carry the Olive-Branch of Peace in one Hand, and the Trumpet of War in the other?

I hold it a Duty to search after Truth; the Knowledge of which cannot be obtain'd, without hearing what may be alledged on both Sides of a Question. I therefore make no Scruple to read Books both for and against Religion. I am sensible this Practice is often condemn'd; and that many are so fearful of an heretical Book, as

The Tol-
erating
Spirit.

Heretical
Books.

to be shock'd at the Cover. But I do not reckon such Caution among the Merits of the Learned. It appears like declaring "they will have nothing to do with Enquiry." Whether this be meritorious with our Creator, who has bestow'd a rational Soul upon us, and commanded us to use it, I dare not determine.

Indeed the Reading of Books against Religion, may often betray a Thirst after Novelties; tho' it shews a kind of Anxiety about a future State. Shall we commend Adventurers who scruple no Pains to discover a new Country; yet censure those who anxiously enquire after another Life? They who, in this Life, think it not worth their while to enquire the Way to Salvation, differ little from Brutes. How can it be said of those who read only one Book, that they enquire at all? Or how can we know they believe, who never examin'd the Grounds of their Faith? I shou'd rather excuse Error than Neglect of Enquiry. He who believes right, without enquiring, is only orthodox by Accident; and can only be saved by Accident. If this Procedure must be defended, can we be angry with certain Philosophers for saying, that "Men may be saved by the Light of Nature, " and a sound Understanding?"

Principles
of Reli-
gion.

It is unmerciful to stigmatize, and blacken the careful, anxious Enquirer after Truth and the Way to Salvation. The Fruits of my own Enquiry I freely communicate. My Religion rests upon three Principles; viz. (1.) To believe Nothing that contradicts my Senses. (2.) To receive

receive Nothing that weakens the Fundamentals of Religion ; and (3.) To reject whatever contradicts the Divine Attributes.

It would be impossible to make me believe Transubstantiation ; because I cannot, shou'd not, deny that I see and feel. To believe any Thing in Contradiction to my Senses, is to render all Things uncertain. If I could be persuaded that the Bread, which I see and taste for Bread, is Flesh ; that Light is Darkness, and Shadow is Substance ; I might be brought to believe that a Circle is a Triangle ; that a strait Line is a Circle ; and to reject the History, the incontestable Evidence and Proofs, upon which the Christian Religion is grounded. Yet Men can suit themselves to a Faith which flatly contradicts their Senses ; whilst their Passion, Zeal and Pride to defend the Opinions in which they were educated ; have the same Effects upon their Minds, as a Fever. A Fever may so deprave the natural Taste, as to render the Sick no Judges of Meats and Drinks. And the Rage a Man has to combat for the Faith of his Forefathers, which is a Fever of the Mind, causes Black to appear White, and Crooked to appear Strait.

As I believe Nothing that contradicts the Fundamentals of Religion, I cannot refuse the same Liberty to my Neighbours. To preach up Freedom, and practice Compulsion ; to cry out against Persecution, and yet persecute ; to censure that in others, which I hold a Virtue in myself, are abominable Contradictions ; whereby a Man

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throws

throws away his Weapons, and gives himself, fettered, into the Hands of his Enemy.

As I receive Nothing contradictory to the Divine Attributes, I can never believe the Doctrine of Fate, Necessity, or Chance. When I meet with any Expression in Scripture, that contradicts the Attributes of God, I recede from the Letter. And these three Principles I hold it my Duty to abide by, as the best and safest I can find.

I believe in a God who is merciful and benign to Mankind ; and cannot worship a God of Cruelty. I condemn no innocent Recreations ; I encourage no Melancholy or Sadness of Heart ; nor look upon slavish Fear as a Christian Virtue.

Chearfulness in Religion.

A beneficent Father allows his Children innocent Diversions, and suitable Recreations ; he rejoices in seeing them pleas'd and happy ; all Signs of Dejection and Uneasiness, both of their Minds and Bodies, are to him disagreeable. He takes their Joy as a Token of their being satisfied, and delighted, with his Behaviour ; and their Sorrow for a Sign of Dissatisfaction with himself. Certain Persons once admonished *Cæsar* to beware of *Anthony*, and others ill-intentioned against him. *Cæsar* answered, " that *Anthony's* gay Countenance, and ruddy Complexion, gave him no Suspicion ; but that indeed, he was afraid of the pale Looks, and dejected Behaviour of *Brutus* and *Cassius* : " and History informs us he judged right. Those Children are certainly ill educated, who always tremble at the Sight of their Father. This denotes the Education not of a Child, but a Slave who sighs for Liberty. To be a Father, is to win a Son's Love ;

Love; which cannot be done, till the Son is satisfied his Father first loves him.

Religion, with me, is not the Fear, but the Love of God; a Love always coupled with the highest Veneration. False Describers represent Religion mix'd with Fear and Terror, Spleen and Melancholy. I hold that Men shou'd serve God, not with slavish Fear, but filial Love, Duty, and ready Obedience. To use Rigour and Severity in Religion, is always wrong; and at this Juncture very unseasonable. Christianity should not be render'd disgustful, when so many Enemies rise up against it, and endeavour to render the Clergy odious. This precarious Situation of the Christian Affairs requires Moderation and Lenity. Many Writers among the *English* Clergy behave with a true Christian Spirit to the Deists, who, in our Times, speak vehemently against the Dignity of Preachers; and, under the Pretext of Natural Religion, attempt to crucify the Priesthood.

Wherein
Religion
consists.

I do not neglect Prayer, but my Prayers are short; being persuaded that the serving of God consists more in Obedience, and the Amendment of Life, than in Prayer, or Praise. I judge it of more Importance to meditate, for a serious Hour, upon the Correction of our Vices, and the real Improvement of our Lives, than to pray the whole Year round.

Prayer.

I readily subscribe all the Articles of our Christian Faith; tho' I had rather the Number were lessened: because I conceive some of them contain certain Notions which might be debated, or even denied, without Danger; and therefore

might be deliver'd over to Philosophy, rather than remain as absolute Points of Divinity.

Opinions
not to be
obtruded,

But I am so far from obtruding my own religious Opinions, and Practices, upon others, that I do not desire any body to receive them: I only wish every one would enquire before he believes. It is in a Man's Power to enquire, but not to believe; unless we take the Word *Belief* in a particular Sense, so as to signify the laying aside Prejudice, and carefully examining the Doctrines of Religion. If the Word be not understood in this Sense, it is in vain to cry out "Believe;" which rather renders the Faith proposed, suspicious and cheap. Shall Men use their Senses and Understanding in worldly Affairs, and neglect to use them about their eternal Welfare? I censure no Mortal who wishes and endeavours to be saved; but must condemn those who using their own Senses, refuse the same Liberty to others. Nor can I approve of those who publicly and solemnly profess the Doctrine which they privately despise and laugh at. The former lead Men into Error blind-fold; and the latter mock God.

But
sought.

If I err, it is unwillingly, and after a careful Enquiry; which may plead some Excuse. A Man who errs in this Manner, I compare to a careful Pilot, who takes due Notice of the Winds, the Currents, and the Soundings, yet runs a little out of his Course: but an indolent Believer, without Examination, is like an idle Sailor, who neglects his Duty, and deserts his Post; yet may accidentally make the Harbour.

VI.

Of being born within the Pale of the Church.

IT is Matter of Astonishment, that Christi- Unbe-
 ans should damn the Heathens for being lievers
 born without the Pale of the Church. The No-
 tion has been general among the Vulgar ; and
 stands confirmed by the Judgment of many great
 Men, who suppose it grounded on holy Writ,
 where they find that none but true Believers can
 be saved.

But as it is a Principle with me, to admit of By Birth,
 nothing in Religion that contradicts the Divine
 Attributes, I judge favourably of *Jews*, *Maho-*
metans and *Heathens* ; because I cannot reconcile
 their Damnation with God's Holiness, Justice,
 and Goodness. What can more strongly contra-
 dict these Divine Attributes, than to make the
 Damnation of Men depend upon such accidental
 Things, as Birth, Education, and Ignorance ?
 To damn a *Chinese*, or *Mahometan*, for Unbelief
 in Christianity, is to damn them for being born
 at *Pekin* or *Constantinople*. As this gives a false
 Idea of God's Justice, I reject it. Would any good
 Prince exclude his Subjects from Offices, or Em-
 ployments, merely for their being born in par-
 ticular Counties of his Dominions ? What could
 we think of Laws forbidding black-haired Peo-
 ple from entering into *Christian* Countries ; or
 prohibiting Baptism to the Children born be-

twixt Christmas and Easter? Should People be punished for what they have not done, or were not in a Condition to do, or prevent?

Educa-
tion,

It is cruel to damn any Person on account of the Place he was born in; and unjust to damn on account of Education. A Child is not in a Capacity to chuse his Tutor; but has one allotted him, by Accident, or the Choice of others: for, Children must be educated under the Eyes of somebody. And, constant Experience shews, that the Principles we receive in our Infancy, are so deeply imprinted, as usually to become indelible. We sometimes see Christian Children carried to *Turkey*; and staying to be educated there, they embrace the *Mahometan* Religion so zealously, as to risk their Lives and Fortunes in defending it. To damn such *Mahometans*, is damning them for the Misfortune of being carried young to *Turkey*; whilst their Brothers and Sisters are to be saved by staying at home.

Unavoid-
able Ig-
norance.

It is no less unjust to punish for unavoidable Ignorance. There are Millions of Souls, who never heard of the *Christian* Faith; and several Countries, particularly certain Parts of *America*, have not had the Opportunity: so that it might be a Miracle to find the true Faith where it was never preached; especially, since in *Europe* so many hear the Word, yet do not believe it. No one can require an Account to be given, where nothing was entrusted; nor should any Man be punished for breaking a Law, that was never promulged. *Caligula*, indeed, among his other senseless Actions, ordered Laws to be written in
so

so small a Character, and hung up so high, that no Man could read them : but we can entertain no such malevolent Thoughts of God ; who calls Mankind his Children, and permits us to call Him Father. A good Judge enquires into all the Circumstances of a Case, before he pronounces ; and God, who is Justice itself, will doubtless regard the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons. This He gives us to understand by the Parable of greater and less Talents entrusted. A wicked Life is the great Infidelity that defeats Christianity, and calls for Punishment : but Ignorance and Error are to be corrected by Instruction.

I hope I am always ready to alter my Opinion upon proper Evidence ; but if the World was to join in holding God for an arbitrary Judge, I would remain by my Principle ; wherein I think I cannot mistake : and yet if I did mistake, the Error could not be displeasing to God. A Prince is not angry with his Subjects for declaring he does nothing contrary to Law ; nor punishes merely for his own Pleasure. I presume God will regard even the greater and less natural Infirmities of Mankind ; and pass a milder Sentence upon a choleric, than upon a phlegmatic Man ; upon a Man of slender Abilities, than upon one of greater Talents, *cæteris paribus*.

God no
arbitrary
Judge.

I know not whether it be rash to believe, that God will judge of a Man's Death according to Circumstances. We are all Sinners, and stand in need of Repentance, particularly when we draw
near

near our End. Some die suddenly, and others of lingering Diseases; some of Fevers and others of chronical Disorders, that leave the Senses clear to the last. The former are usually judged unhappy, and the latter happy, in the Manner of their Death. I dare not pronounce; but as God is an upright Judge, before whom all Circumstances appear; perhaps a serious Groan of one who dies suddenly, may avail as much as a Year's Penitence in a lingering Disease: otherwise it might seem, that those who die of Apoplexies, or Calentures, are generally damned; and those generally saved who die of Dropsies and Consumptions: which is supposing Damnation and Salvation to depend upon the Nature of Diseases. A Prince who orders his Servants to prepare for a Journey in a Hurry, expects less Foresight to be used, than if he gave them longer Time: and doubtless God will make the proper Allowance, in issuing out the Order of Death; which is but a kind of Command to prepare for another Life. I cannot believe that God will damn Men for such Things as are out of their Power to alter.

This appears to me so clear, that I wonder it can be thought God will not judge Men according to their Works; but independently thereof, according to his own arbitrary Pleasure. It is said, indeed, God does not damn *Heathens* or *Mahometans* for being born of *Heathen* or *Mahometan* Parents; but for neglecting to use their Understandings, and slighting the Means of Enquiry.

But

But even the most moral People generally adhere to the Religion in which they were educated. No Christian denies that, if he had been born in a different Country, he should have embraced the Faith of that Country: and if any Man were to deny it, he would speak contrary to Experience.

Some having remarked this, drop the Argument; and ground their Doctrine upon certain Expressions of Scripture; as that “There is no
“Salvation without Faith in Christ;” “He
“who believes not, shall be damned” &c. &c. But since Divines confess, that in the Interpretation of Scripture, we must sometimes recede from the Letter; and, in order to come at the true Meaning, compare one Passage with another; this Practice seems to be highly necessary, when the Question is of no less Importance than the having right or wrong Notions of the Divine Attributes. Wherever, therefore, the Scripture declares that Unbelievers cannot be saved, we must understand by Unbelievers those who are perversely so; and not extend it to unavoidable Unbelief. When we find it said, that God, out of his Good-Will and Pleasure, “could create
“Vessels to Honour, and Vessels to Dishonour;”
“could create to Salvation or to Damnation;” we are not to infer he has actually done this; or that his own Divine Attributes permit the doing of it; but that these Expressions only mean, if God should have done it, his Creatures had no Right to ask, “Why hast thou made
“me thus?” The Necessity of such an Interpretation

Scripture
how to
be interpreted.

pretation appears from numerous other Passages of Scripture, where Mention is made of the Love of God towards Mankind, and his Purpose of opening the Door of Salvation to all. And upon this Footing one Part of the Scripture will agree with another, and the whole make Harmony.

Others, to get clear of the Difficulty, pretend, that Man must not limit the Omnipotency of God; nor judge of Divine Perfection according to human Imperfection; and that the Justice of God consists in acting according to his own Will. But the Omnipotence of God is not infringed by asserting He will act according to his own Holiness, and not contradict himself. To make God establish that for Virtue which He condemns, and punishes, in Men, is not only destroying all Natural, but Reveal'd Religion; which expressly declares, that what he commends as Virtues in Men, are Attributes of his own. "Be ye merciful, as your Father is merciful."

We must hope that these severe Opinions will gradually grow milder. Indeed many Writers begin to mollify, and abate of this Rigour. In my Judgment, if these *Gordian* Knots cannot be solved, *Alexander's* Sword should be used. For, certainly, no Doctrine ought to be supported, that gives Mankind bad Impressions of God.

VII.

Of Faith and Imposture.

TO compare the Shortness of the present Life, with the Eternity of the Future ; and consider the Rewards and Punishments to follow upon good or bad Actions, yet find so little true practical Religion upon Earth ; one might almost suspect there was no Faith among Mankind ; but that all doubted, as to the Certainty of an Hereafter. There are few of us who, upon the Promise of a temporal Reward, would not labour to be good, or renounce our vicious Inclinations. A Drunkard will live sober, a Profligate turn prudent, and a Rebel become obedient, to obtain Favours of their King. Many from the mere Motive of Hope, will force and subdue their Appetites and Passions, or even belye their own Natures, in Expectation of a Place or a Title : yet the King of Heaven and Earth, whose Promises cannot fail, and whose Rewards are eternal, does not prevail upon Men to quit their Vices, or suppress their inordinate Appetites. Whence it might seem as if the Faith we Christians value ourselves upon, was only nominal : for, really to believe a State of eternal Rewards and Punishments, and not live according to this Belief, is a Paradox of the first Magnitude. If we allow no Christian Faith among Mankind, the Solution is easy : but such a Suspicion would be extravagant ; since there have

Few Signs
of Belief
among
Christians.

have been those who sealed this Faith with their Blood.

To solve the Difficulty, we must allow Men so made, as to be more affected with small Matters that are sensible and at Hand, than with the most momentous Things that are invisible, and at a Distance. All Men know they are to die; yet do not shudder at Death, till the Hour approaches; when they see Him, as it were, Face to Face. Man, being immers'd in his Affections, is more moved by corporeal than mental Rewards and Punishments.

Marks of
Imposture.

This Property has been remarked by Impostors, who accordingly made their Heaven to be tangible, fleshly, and corporeal; and promised Men the full Enjoyment there, of all they delight in here. Carnal Promises are most effectual with the Multitude. Gross Natures look upon spiritual Things as Non-entities; prefer Things they can enjoy with their Senses; and are easily caught by a Paradise furnish'd with the Apparatus for bodily Pleasures, suitable to the prevailing Taste of the Times, and Countries, they live in. The ancient Northern People delighted in Exercises, Trials of Manhood, strong Beer and Metheglin; and had a corresponding Description given them of their Hereafter. Other Nations, addicted to Women, have had a Paradise represented to them fill'd with beautiful Virgins. But no false Prophet has herein exceeded *Mahomet*; who thoroughly studied the Temper and Inclination of his *Arabs*; and finding they chiefly delighted in cooling Winds, purling

purling Streams, Wine and Women; he filled all the Corners of his Heaven with this pleasurable Furniture. And, probably if he had undertaken to found a Religion in other Countries, he would have, every where, adapted it to the reigning Taste of the People; and have promis'd such Pleasures, in the next World, as he found them captivated with in this.

Among the numerous cogent Arguments for the Truth of the *Christian* Religion, I take this to be one; that it promises no other than spiritual Rewards to the Faithful; who are to be satisfied and enliven'd with the Hopes of enjoying the Beatific Vision: which is such a Thing, as fleshly Mortals can have no Idea of, till they put off their Carnality, and are "born again of the Spirit." For, we find, that many, even among the Religious, hanker after material Ideas, and bodily Notions of God, Angels and Heaven. Some Christians consider God under a human Form, Angels as winged Creatures, and Heaven as a City paved with Gold, or precious Stones. Such gross Notions, being contrary to the Purity and Spirituality of the Christian Religion, should be rooted out of Men's Minds. The Passages of Scripture alledged to authorize these gross Conceptions, ought to be explain'd by others, which shew them to be allegorical. I could wish no such metaphorical Expressions were used in any Part of Divine Service; because the People are apt to take them literally. Lead and Gold, Stone and Diamond, are alike precious with God; it is only Man's

A Proof
of the
Christian
Religion.

Man's Folly, or Pride, that stamps a different value upon Things of this kind. We justly censure other Religions for giving gross, material Descriptions of the Habitations of the Blessed; because this proves those Religions come not from God, but from the Brain of weak, or crafty Men. The *Christian* Doctrine is spiritual, and treats the greatest worldly Magnificence as Emptiness and Vanity. Pompous mundane Descriptions are Blemishes, not Ornaments, to Revelation; and serve but to confound the pure and genuine Doctrine of Christianity with absurd and groundless Pretensions, which require such Trappings to cover the Cheat.

VIII.

Of spurious and genuine Devotion.

Counter-
feit Reli-
gion or
Hypo-
crisy.

TH O' true and false Devotion differ as Light and Darkness, we seldom find them properly characterized. Devotion may be distinguished into counterfeit, erroneous, and genuine.

Indeed, counterfeit Devotion should rather be call'd Hypocrisy, and is an Impiety worse than Atheism. The Atheist acknowledges no God, and acts accordingly. The Hypocrite openly avows God, but in his Heart and Actions dishonours and blasphemes him. The Atheist is like a Man who doubts of the King's Right to the Crown;
and

and during this Doubt, refuses the Oath of Allegiance, or pays no Obedience to Supremacy : but the Hypocrite is like one who publicly acknowledges the King for his lawful Sovereign ; swears Fidelity to him ; shews him external Signs of Duty and Honour ; but privately grimaces him, traduces his Name, and tramples upon the Laws he pretends to observe. It is easy to see which of these is the more wicked.

Erroneous Devotion may be divided into my-
 stical, fanatical, and fashionable. Mystical Devo-
 tion, being the Offspring of solitary, recluse Peo-
 ple, usually surpasses the Comprehension of
 others ; and has no Use in Society. It is gene-
 rally attended with some Disorder of the Brain ;
 whereby Men's Reveries pass for Revelations.
 Mystics neglect the principal Duties of Chri-
 stianity, whilst they mean to perform them. By
 endeavouring to “ unite themselves with God,”
 and put off all that is carnal, they turn to a kind
 of amphibious Creatures, that are neither Body
 nor Spirit ; but resemble Apparitions, or Witches ;
 and become public Disturbers. Their own Ter-
 ror makes them represent God as a severe, cruel,
 and merciless Judge ; whence they are in the
 greatest Danger of falling into Infidelity. Fear
 and Despair produce the same Effects in the My-
 stic, as licentious Pleasure, and Hope of Impunity,
 do in the Atheist : both have their Ends if Re-
 ligion be destroy'd. The Atheist would then be
 unrestrained ; and the Mystic freed from his
 Yoke.

Fanatical, Fanatical Devotion resembles the Mystical. It flows from a black Fountain, and should rather be term'd Gloominess, than Godliness. Fanatics call Melancholy by the Name of Zeal; and hypochondrical Disorders, they call Wars with the Devil. They are confirm'd in this Error by others, who represent these odious Infirmities of Body and Mind, in the Light of Virtues; and, when once rivetted in their Superstition, they look upon themselves as God's Heralds, and declare War against Mankind; condemn innocent Pleasures; and call the Cheerful carnal. Every Laugh with them is a Sin; and all rational Devotion, cold and lifeless. Their own Devotion is as unsteady, as if it changed with the Moon.

Fashion-
able.

Fashionable Devotion is frequently mistaken for genuine; though it consists more in the Gestures of the Body, and the Play of the Features, than in the Exertion of the Mind, or Emotion of the Heart. The fashionably Devout punctually practises the Ceremonies of Religion. Hence a Man may pass in the World for religious, by means of external Acts, wherein the Heart has no Share. A certain *Italian* alledged as a Proof of his Piety, that he frequently kiss'd the *Pope's* Slipper; and a *Spaniard*, that he had scourged himself upon a Good-Friday. *Paul Jove* proves the Devotion of *Leo* the Tenth, from the elegant Manner of his celebrating Mass. *Aristobulus*, the Younger, was universally allow'd by the *Jews*, to be worthy of the High Priest-hood, because he made the Offerings.

Offerings with a good Grace : and some wou'd prove the Piety of the Emperor *Otto* from his Coat, which was embroider'd with the History of the Revelation. I by no means condemn Ceremonies in Religion, but highly commend them ; only, this I must say, that if unaccompanied with internal Purity of Heart, and Amendment of Life, they are no better than Buffoonery.

There is also a Species of Devotion arising from Affliction and Misfortune, Old-age, and the Fear of approaching Death. Neither do I pretend to censure this Devotion ; but think it cannot be call'd genuine. We see by Sailors, how little Dependance is to be had upon Devotion shewn in Danger. Many Christians endeavour to convince Unbelievers, by Arguments drawn from the Penitence of People upon their Death-Beds : but such Arguments are not so solid, as when Mens Reformation appears in the Time of Health and Prosperity.

False Devotion
from Misfortunes.

True Religion is the joint Refulgence of all the Virtues. It resembles the Sun, “ at whose Sight all the Stars hide their diminish'd Heads.” It breathes Benevolence and Love to Man. The truly Pious serve God, their Creator and Benefactor, with their whole Soul. They honour and love Him, not so much for the Sake of their promis'd Reward, as for the Benefits they have received ; and are more actuated by Gratitude than Hope. They are severe to themselves, and compassionate to others. They endeavour to reclaim the Erro-

True Religion.

neous, not by Severity, but Meekness. They are always similar to themselves; and serve God uniformly, not by Fits and Starts. They are at Peace with all Men. They comfort the Afflicted, support the Distressed, and cloath the Naked. They neither exult in Prosperity, nor sink in Adversity; but remain contented with the Will of God, and patiently bear those Afflictions He is pleas'd to lay upon them. They shew their Piety not in Theory, but in Practice; not in Words but Works. They are not led by Fear, Ambition, or worldly Interest, but by Love to the Author of their Being. They strive to promote the Good of all Men; and labour to secure eternal Bliss.

IX.

Of the Veneration due to God.

God not to be fought in the Abstract. **T**HE celebrated Greek Philosopher, *Simonides*, being ask'd by *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, what God was, desir'd a Day to consider of it. When the King demanded an Answer, *Simonides* requested two Days; and went on doubling the Time; whereat the King wondering, *Simonides* declared, that "the longer he considered " the Subject, the more difficult it grew." This frank Acknowledgment of Ignorance, is a Proof of

of the Philosopher's good Understanding ; on account of which he was justly admired by his Cotemporaries. Certainly, there cannot be a greater Demonstration of Folly, than pretending to describe a Being, that is incomprehensible.

Pomponius Mela mentions a certain Cavern, which had so agreeable an Appearance as to entice Travellers into it ; but the farther they went, the greater Terror they were seized with ; so that a deep reverential Awe soon obliged them to retire. *St. Austin* says, " God is a Subject of " which we can, and cannot discourse ; that He " may be highly venerated, and cannot be highly venerated ; may be compar'd, and cannot be compar'd ; may be described, but rises " above Description". Here, therefore, is the Limit of Man's Understanding. Here we are compelled to say, with *Simonides*, " the more we " think upon the Subject, the more difficult it " grows", or the more we stretch our Eyes, the less we see. This is an impenetrable Cypher, whose Key is not given to Man.

The Proof of God's Existence is this. We God's
plainly see a World, which appears to us un- Existence,
bounded ; we see a most amazing Structure, which is as amazingly supported. We see in all the Parts of it Order, Art, and Beauty. We know all this cou'd not happen by Accident ; but that there must have been a Maker, a Creator, or general Architect of the Whole. Hence we infer, there is an Eternal, Almighty, Omniscient
A a 3 Being,

Being, called God, who supports all Things. With this general Idea, deriv'd from sensible Objects, and intellectual Inference, we must be contented: for it is solely from the Creation, that we infer a Creator. If we attempt to go farther, and pretend to subtilize, or enquire whether God is an extended Being; after what Manner he fills Space; whether an extended Being can exist without Parts; what God's Eternity, Immensity, Omniscience, Omnipresence, Omnipotence are, we sink, and are lost in the Enquiry.

Corporeal
Ideas of
God.

Some Philosophers will be displeased with this Doctrine; and presume the Answer of *Simonides* proceeded from a heathenish Blindness, of which Christians are cured by Revelation; and alledge that *Tertullian*, particularly, speaks of God, as of an intelligible Subject, by declaring that "the Ignorance of the Heathens, with respect to God, is now so far dispell'd, that every Christian Mechanic finds Him out and shews Him." *Deum qui libet Opifex Christianus invenit, ostendit*". But *Plato* declares, "the Creator of the World is not to be found; and that if Man cou'd find Him, it wou'd be impossible to describe Him." I rather join with *Euclides*, who being question'd about some Particularities of God's Essence and Attributes, replied, "I can say nothing to the Subject; I only know, that God does not approve of those prying Persons, who wou'd be discovering his Secrets." Indeed *Tertullian*, with all his Learning, has shewn a strange Blindness in Matters of this kind, which he pretends

were

were known to every Christian; for he has made many false Representations of God; as of a corporeal Being, subject to Passions, and Affections. Others of the Fathers have not scrupled to attribute a human Form to God; and even to look upon those as Heretics who held Him to be a Spirit. Old *Serapion* being prevailed upon to quit his erroneous Faith, believe in one God, and pray to Him; he fell into Tears, crying out, "they have stolen away my God;" because he had no bodily Image left to pray to.

Since the Times of *Origen*, the World has been commonly taught that God is a Spirit; yet it appears as if this had only been a Doctrine in Name: for we still see Him painted in Churches, as a venerable old Man, with a long Beard. It is well known what a Disturbance was rais'd in *Russia* upon the Article of shaving; when many rather chose to lose their Lives than their Beards: and the Reason they gave for it was, that they saw God the Father painted with a Beard in their Churches. This gross Idea has given Occasion to various Doubts and Scruples concerning the Divine Power and Providence.

But the Error is still more shocking to attribute Eyes, Ears, Hands, Feet, &c. to God. Many have strangely err'd in explaining certain Passages of the Old Testament, where mention is made of the Hands, the Feet, &c. of God; and of his Wrath, Mercy, Grief, and other Passions; so as to make a human Idea of the Divine Being; without considering that these are only certain Forms of Speech, suited to the Comprehension

of an ignorant People. To be convinced hereof we need but compare such Phrases with others in different Parts of Scripture, where God is spoke of as an incomprehensible Being. The Psalmist and the Prophets agree with *Simonides*, that "God is unsearchable." But many ancient Interpreters have made a gross and false Representation of God, and propagated it down to Posterity. And tho' they may also have taught that God is a Spirit, yet by Spirit they have only meant a kind of shadowy thin Substance, or Film of Body.

Our No-
tion of
God im-
proved by
Astro-
nomy.

The great Discoveries lately made in Astronomy, furnish Mankind with much nobler Notions of God: and we must allow that Natural Philosophers have sublimer Thoughts of the Divine Being than the Vulgar. It has been said, "where there are three Mathematicians there are two Atheists:" but we may rather say, that no true Philosopher can be an Atheist. Before the new Discoveries made in Astronomy, Men look'd upon our Earth as a large Part of the Universe; and of so great Consequence, that all the Planets, the Sun, and the Stars were made for its Sake, and served as Satellites to it. They held that the Earth was the only inhabited Globe; and that it stood perpetually still; whilst the whole Firmament, with all the Stars, turn'd round it every twenty four Hours; partly to light its Inhabitants, and partly for Ornament and Variety. Such grovelling Thoughts of the World, even Astronomers formerly entertain'd! As for the Common People,

People, they look'd upon the Stars to be little white Circles, like those sometimes painted upon Ceilings; and thought they moved round our Earth, which they took, at least, to be one half of the Creation: for they divided all Things into two Portions, so as under the Name of Heaven and Earth to comprehend the Universe. The Opinion they had of the Earth's great Consequence, made them believe every Man was allow'd a Star to wait upon him; that the Sun, Moon, and Planets, gave Notice by Eclipses and other Signs, what was to happen upon the Earth; and that Comets appear'd, to foretell some great Misfortune; as that a Prince was to die, a Town to be taken, or a Battle to be fought. This Vanity went so far, that the heavenly Bodies were esteem'd as Servants in waiting to perform menial Offices. It is related of a certain itinerant Saint, that the Sun used to come down and carry his Gloves. But in our Times, by means of Telescopes, and other Mathematical Instruments, we have acquir'd new Light in these Affairs; so that the whole Body of the Earth appears to us no bigger than a Grain of Sand, in comparison of the Universe. The Earth and all the other Planets, revolve about the Sun, which is millions of Times bigger than the Earth. The whole solar System is but a Speck, in comparison of that infinitely immense System, the Universe. Astronomers now generally agree that the Sun is only the nearest fix'd Star to us, and that every one of the fix'd Stars is a Sun, which

which may have Planets revolving about it; whence there may be as many Systems of Worlds as there are single fix'd Stars. If we consider what an immense Number of Stars are visible to the naked Eye, and how many Thousands more may be discover'd by the Telescope; then imagine ourselves, from the Milky-Way, to discover an infinite Number of Stars at a Distance; and at the same Time reflect that there may be as many in the other Hemisphere: this takes in such a Stretch of Extent, such infinite Numbers of Systems of Worlds, such an amazing Grandeur of Creation upon Creation, that we may well cry out with Astonishment and Rapture, "What a superlatively great and incomprehensible Being must He be, who has produced and supports such an infinite System!" Then we should own with *Simonides*, that the more we saw, and the more we thought of this immense Being, the more our Understanding is master'd; and readily acknowledge it wou'd be Folly to attempt the Description of God.

God undescribable.

The *French* Philosopher, *Charron*, declares it "the most audacious Folly for Man to think of describing God's Nature, or saying what He is. Human Understanding, and the Limits of created Beings are infinitely too scanty for this Purpose. God's Nature is somewhat that can neither be conceiv'd nor express'd. There is no Comparison betwixt Infinite and Finite; and no ascending from the last to the first. The strongest Genius here rises

“ rises no higher than the weakest. The su-
“ blimeſt Philoſopher, the moſt learned Divine,
“ knows no more of God, than the meaneſt
“ Mechanic. Where there is no Way nor Paſ-
“ ſage, there is no Short or Long. God’s Na-
“ ture, Eternity, Omnipotence, Infinity, are
“ Words ſpoke to the Air, and do not affect us;
“ being unintelligible to Man. If all that we
“ ſay of God’s Nature and Eſſence were care-
“ fully examin’d, we ſhou’d find it groſs Ignorance
“ and Folly. A venerable Ancient pronounced
“ it dangerous to ſpeak of God, even tho’ we
“ ſhou’d happen to ſpeak true: becauſe ſuch
“ ſublime Truths may be defil’d in our Thoughts
“ and Mouths. Nor can we be ſure they are juſt.
“ It muſt be by Chance if we gueſs right: for
“ here we are blind, or remain without Cer-
“ tainty. It is therefore dangerous to ſpeak
“ of God with Doubt and Uncertainty; whiſt
“ we do not know, whether He is pleas’d
“ with ſuch Diſcourſe; tho’ we wholly rely up-
“ on his Goodneſs, and hope He will not be
“ offended at our ſpeaking of Him, with a Deſign
“ to honour Him as far as we are able. But
“ who knows, with Certainty, whether this Con-
“ fidence itſelf be pleaſing to God? The ſureſt
“ Way would be, for the Soul, after having
“ made a general Rejection of Ideas, ſingly and
“ alone to exert itſelf, as *in Vacuo*, and Im-
“ menſity; procure a deep and holy Calm,
“ ſilent Wonder, awfull Reverence, and repre-
“ ſent to itſelf a bright Abyſs, without Limits
“ or

“ or Bounds, without Height or Depth, & not
 “ dwell upon any Thing else, that may arise in
 “ the Imagination ; but remain as if totally ab-
 “ forbed, entranced, and lost in Immensity. This
 “ agrees with the Doctrine of the Holy Saints,
 “ who teach, that our Knowledge of God is
 “ perfect Ignorance of his Nature. To draw
 “ near unto God, is no more than acknowledge-
 “ ing a Light, which no Man can approach
 “ without being lost. So far we may acknow-
 “ ledge Him, in being truly sensible that He is
 “ God over all, and cannot be properly acknow-
 “ ledged. To praise God the most eloquently
 “ is to remain awfully silent, and adore Him in
 “ the Stillness of our Souls. But as it is diffi-
 “ cult, and almost impossible, for the Soul long
 “ to persevere in such a State ; we shou’d purely
 “ represent God to ourselves as a Good, Power-
 “ full, and Intelligent Being, who has a Re-
 “ gard to our Welfare ; and that it is not in
 “ the Power of Man to frame such an Idea of
 “ the Godhead, as he ought to honour and
 “ adore as God, &c.” Thus far *Charron*, who
 shews a sublime Manner of thinking about God,
 and a low one of ourselves ; both of them so
 pathetically, as might make us humble enough
 never to use the Name of God without the deepest
 Veneration ; nor venture to address Him in
 Prayer, but with the utmost Decency and Hu-
 mility.

The Re-
 verence
 due to
 God.

These Matters are not sufficiently regarded :
 for by the Manner of addressing, which many
 Men

Men use to God, it appears they do not think reverently enough of Him.

The *Mahometans*, how gross soever they may ^{In Prayer.} otherwise be in their Religion, pray with a more decent and becoming Behaviour than some Christians. The *Mahometans* stand, as if entranc'd, during the time of Prayer. Many Heathens have been shock'd at certain Expressions in the Prayers of Christians. In the Account of the *Tranquebar* Mission, we find the Interpreter was obliged to alter the Style, and raise the Expression used in Catechising the Converts; from judging the *European* Form not sufficiently venerable with respect to God.

Praying consists not in the Number but Weight of Words; and the Weight of Prayer must needs be little when the Mind is unattentive, or turn'd another Way, and only the empty Sound offer'd up to God. May I be permitted to deliver my Thoughts upon so momentous a Subject? The Matter deserves the most solemn Attention. I may err in my Notions; yet cannot expect a severe Rebuke from those who have any tolerable Notion of God; or soberly reflect in what a tremendous Affair poor Man is engaged, when he presumes to converse with so infinitely great, and incomprehensible a Being!

When we present ourselves as Supplicants before God, it should doubtless be done with the utmost Reverence, and Veneration, in Thought, Words and Gesture. This Maxim has led me

to enquire into our common Forms of Prayer; and examine not only their Contents, but their Intention; and to observe some Particulars, which, in my humble Opinion, require Alteration or Amendment.

Church-
Music.

I do not reject Church-Music and Singing: I rather judge them proper and decent in Thanksgivings and Rejoicings. But in the Confession of our Sins, Petitions for Grace or Mercy, and Deprecations of Punishment, I judge it more suitable that the Prayers shou'd be gravely said, than sung, or skilfully accompanied with Music. I disapprove of all quick lively Airs play'd in the Church. Nor do I approve of the setting of Tunes, for Church-Music, so as to make a single Word of no Importance pass through twenty different Tones. It might be better if every Word and Syllable had its proper Tone, as was practis'd by the Ancients, and is, at present, us'd in Recitative.

Prayer
not to be
minutely
particular.

As to the Phraseology of our public Prayers, I do not reject certain Expressions, because they have been approv'd by the Examples of great Saints; yet some of these Expressions do not sound well to my Ear. I do not condemn Prayers for Rain, Fair-weather, &c. yet confess, if I were to draw up a Form of Prayer, I should never descend to minute Particulars: because, what is useful to me, may be prejudicial to my Neighbour; as the Rain or Sun-shine which refreshes, or ripens, my Corn, may hurt his; and the Wind that brings my Ship into Port, may keep others in Danger. Besides, I have remark'd that this

Practice

Practice has occasion'd a kind of Superstition among the Vulgar. When one Clergy-man prays for Rain, or Fair-weather, and the Effect does not follow; but afterwards the Rain or Fair-weather happen upon the Praying of another, the People are apt to make a Difference betwixt the Petitioners: tho', perhaps, they may both have pray'd with equal Devotion.

I am of Opinion, that our public Prayers shou'd only be general, for the King and Country; since in all good Governments, the King is so united to his Subjects, that their mutual Welfare cannot be separated. It might be well to pray for the Fertility of the Land in general; or better still, that God wou'd please to give us what he sees most necessary for us, in Imitation of *Agur's* Prayer; "Give me neither Poverty nor Riches," &c. And we find this kind of Prayer approv'd of by Heathens. *Johannes Damascenus* relates, Heathen Prayer. that the *Pedulians*, a certain People of *India*, begg'd of God nothing but Justice. *Apollonius Tyanæus* judges, that Prayers shou'd be compos'd after this Example: "give me O Lord! what " may be serviceable to me". *Socrates* commends the following Prayer of an ancient Poet. "O *Jupiter*! give us what is good for us, whether we ask it or no; and grant not what is bad " for us, even tho' we ask it". To the same Purpose are these noble Lines of *Juvenal*:

*Permites ipsis expendere Numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris;*

Nam

*Nam pro jucundis, aptissima quæque dabunt Di:
Carior est illis Homo quam sibi.*

Our Religion is circumstantial enough in itself ; and needs not be render'd more so, by praying for numerous temporal Things, upon which it is not founded. Nor ought the Faith of the common People to be corrupted ; who remain unsatisfied with being told, that our Petitions are not heard by reason of our Sins. But I take not upon me to reject any public Form of Prayer. I only deliver my Opinion, and submit it to the Judgment of others.

Praise. With the same Deference I speak of Songs of Praise, and Thanksgiving for Victories obtain'd over our Enemies ; and instead of censuring such Songs, I only confess myself surpriz'd at their being us'd upon the fortuitous Accidents of War : because this kind of Devotion appears to me like a Man's thanking God, after a Duel, for the accidental killing of his Antagonist. It seems safer to beg that God wou'd incline the Hearts of our Enemies to Peace, than to petition Him for Victory, which cannot be obtain'd without Bloodshed ; and to appear before Him rather in a mournful than a joyful Manner, upon receiving Advantage by the Slaughter of Mankind. To pray for the Destruction of our Enemies, is praying and cursing in the same Breath.

Disculpation. If I had the Honour of being a Preacher, I shou'd not make frequent Mention of the Devil,
as

as the Prompter to Wickedness ; but generally lay the Blame upon Men : for, to be accusing Satan upon all Occasions, is like pronouncing Mankind faultless. No body doubts that the Devil is a subtle Deceiver ; but we are not to bring unjust Accusations against him. We have great Reason to question whether this kind of Excuse, and shifting off Blame, will pass with God. Judges do not mitigate their Sentence upon this Account ; but condemn Malefactors to Death, and leave them to throw the Blame upon the Devil.

These Remarks may perhaps meet with a cool Reception, because they oppose the Practices of all Times and Countries. And I acknowledge it is particular, to dissent from Opinions receiv'd by all Mankind, and confirm'd by constant Use : yet Experience shews, that how universal or ancient soever an Opinion has been, it possibly may receive Alteration, or Improvement. General Opinions have frequently arisen from a single Person ; and if once a Notion comes to be approved, or receiv'd, by some few venerable Men, it may easily become universal : for, Opinions are readily propagated by the Similarity of our Natures. Numerous Doctrines, held as general Principles in the last Century, are, at present, rejected as Errors ; tho' till of late no body doubted of their Truth.

As God commands us to pray, we are certainly obliged to observe His Commandments ; but He being omniscient, and understanding our Wants better than we do, it is unnecessary to lay before Him the Reason of our

Errors in
Prayer
to be rec-
tified.

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